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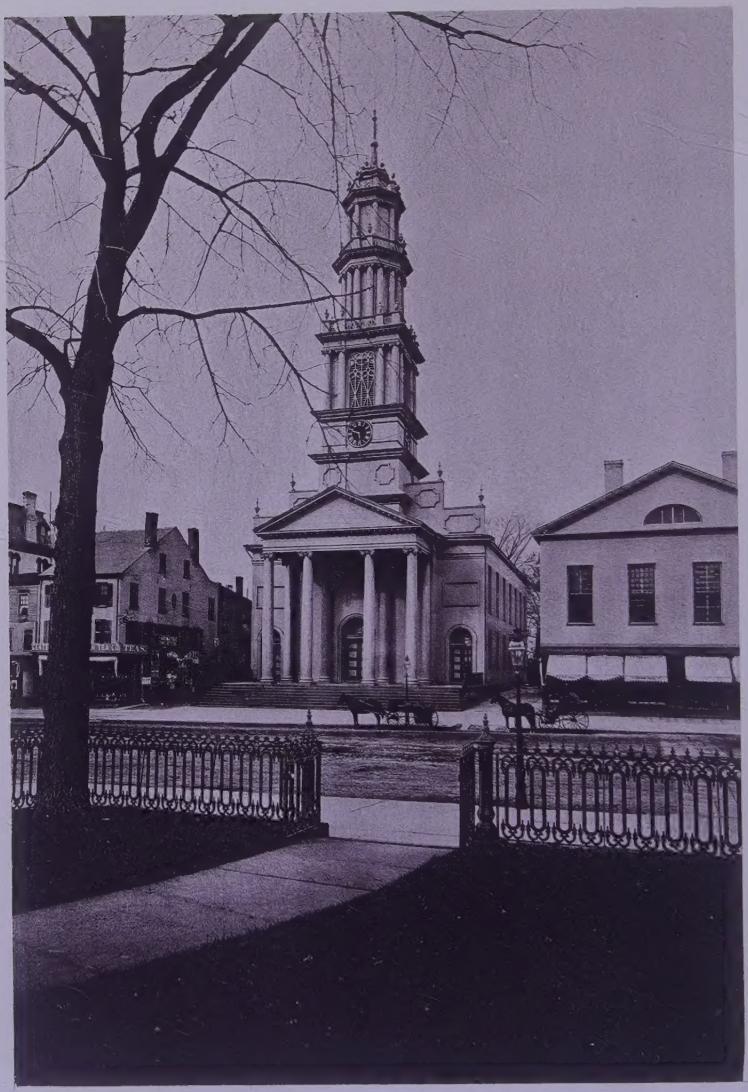

FIRST CHURCH OF HARTFORD.
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HISTORY

OF THE

First Church in Hartford,

1633—1883.

BY

GEORGE LEON WALKER.

Illustrated.

HARTFORD:
BROWN & GROSS,
1884.

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By GEORGE LEON WALKER.

Dedicated

TO THE

MEMBERS OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN HARTFORD,

BOTH OF THE PRESENT FELLOWSHIP AND THOSE OF THE DISPERSION SCATTERED ABROAD,

AND ALSO TO THE MEMORY

OF ALL THOSE ONCE NUMBERED HERE

WHO HAVE CEASED FROM THEIR LABORS AND ENTERED INTO REST,

AS A TRIBUTE OF LOVE AND HONOR

FOR THE LIVING AND THE DEAD,

BY THIS CHURCH'S

FOURTEENTH MINISTER.

PREFACE.

The duty of preparing this History of the First Church in Hartford seemed to be laid upon the writer by the double consideration of the absence of any tolerably adequate narrative of the Church's story, and the anticipated celebration during his pastorate of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of its ecclesiastical organization.

To these incentives was added the further one that not only was the Church's story in large measure untold, but certain passages of that story had been to a considerable extent mistold.

In contemplating the undertaking, the writer was well aware that there are many men in Hartford better qualified by nature and by long familiarity with the place and its literature, to fulfill this service than himself, a comparative stranger. Things which to them are a part of family tradition or of early and scarce avoidable acquaintance, would come to him only by painstaking inquiry or accidental discovery, if indeed they came at all.

The writing of a History of this Church furthermore was an enterprise made the more difficult for any one, by the absence to a great degree, of those documentary memorials which every ecclesiastical establishment is supposed to keep of its own transactions.

The entire documentary records both of Church and Society for the first fifty-two years after the Church's origin have disappeared. The story of that whole period has to be gathered up so far as it can be gathered at all, from the collateral sources of Township and Colonial records, subsequently recorded narratives, with a few stray ecclesiastical relics of a contemporaneous character.

In 1685, Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, the sixth minister of this Church, began entering in a little volume a meager account of his own ministerial acts, and to some extent the actions of the

Church; continuing it to his death in 1732. This account the Revs. Daniel Wadsworth and Edward Dorr followed by similar entries in the same volume, bringing the slender chronicle down to the year 1772. From that period and throughout the entire pastorate of Dr. Nathan Strong, and until the installation of Rev. Joel Hawes in 1818, no Church record remains.

The Society records have been happily better preserved, from about 1685 onward. Though here, again, nothing corresponding to a Treasurer's account can be found for very considerable portions of the period. The complete and satisfactory telling of the History of the First Church in Hartford was therefore an impossibility, and even its partial narration more than ordinarily difficult.

Nevertheless the fact remained that the "*Centennial Discourse*" preached by Dr. Hawes in 1836, was the only attempt which had been made towards a consecutive account of the Church's history; and the two and a half century annniversary of its birth was just at hand.

Whatever his deficiencies, therefore, the writer felt called on to do what he could to supply the lack of a better service. He was encouraged—especially respecting those passages of the history which have been referred to as in a measure hitherto mistold—by the availability for present use of certain papers unknown to Rev. Dr. Trumbull and other historians of Connecticut ecclesiastical affairs; but whose recent discovery, and publication in 1870, make an explication of the period to which they refer, possible as it had not been before.

While engaged in the preparation of this volume and when it was in large measure ready for the press, the occurrence of the Celebration of the Anniversary to which reference has above been made, called on the writer for *An Address* for that occasion, the material for which was largely drawn from the manuscript of this History; the language being freely appropriated wherever the writer chose to use the phraseology he had already employed.

Acknowledgments for assistance in this undertaking are due to many; but especially to Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull and Chas. J. Hoadly, Esq., whose acquaintance with early Connecticut history—unequaled by that of any other two living men—has been with utmost kindness put at the writer's frequent service; indica-

tions of which fact will be found abundantly scattered through this volume.

Thanks are due also to the coöperate interest and aid of the present officers and members of the First Church and Society in carrying forward this work, and for their forbearance in tolerating the neglect on the writer's part of some pastoral service he would otherwise have performed. Written amid the pressure of constant parochial labor, and some family anxieties and bereavements, this History of the First Church, is now commended to the kindly consideration of all, and especially of those who know by some measure of experience, both the difficulty of such an endeavor and the liability to error in the most conscientious performance of it.

HARTFORD, May, 1884.

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CHAPTER I.

HOW THIS CHURCH CAME TO BE.

The year 1633 was a memorable year for its occurrences alike in Old England and in New.

On the little strip of ground along the Atlantic border, where the New England settlements had a short time before got their first feeble footing, events took place which brought new encouragement to the heroic pioneers of civil and religious liberty who had left home to begin a new life on a new soil. Between February and October there had arrived at least nine vessels from England, with about seven hundred passengers and many cattle. In one of these vessels, the *Griffin*, after an eight weeks' voyage, came several men destined to take a large place in history. Among them was John Cotton, ordained a few days after teacher of the first church in Boston, having been aforetime a distinguished minister in old Boston, in Lincolnshire, and henceforth the chief expounder of religion and polity in the Massachusetts colony. Two others were Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone, lately eminent Puritan Lecturers at Chelmsford and Towcester, respectively, and presently to join a waiting congregation at Newtown, as Pastor and Teacher of what is now known as the First Church of Christ in Hartford.

Another of the same company was John Haynes, "a gentleman of great estate," soon to be chosen governor of the colony of Massachusetts, but to be better known to us as one of the founders and long the governor of the colony of Connecticut. With these came about two hundred other passengers, many being "men of good estates." "They gat out of England with much difficulty, all places being belaid to have taken Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, who had been long sought for to have been brought into the high commission" by command of bishop Laud.[1]

This same year, too, a new settlement had been effected at Agawam, now Ipswich; and a plot on the part of certain enemies of the colony at home, for the revocation of the charter, having failed, the outlook of the young settlement seemed bright enough to justify the "day of publique thanksgiveing in regard of the many and extraordinary mercyes," which was ordered to be observed "through the severall plantacons."[2] In this year also some of the Plymouth colony people made a settlement at Windsor, and the Dutch bought land and built a fort at what is now Hartford in Connecticut.

Across the water in old England, too, the year 1633 was one of important events having a direct bearing on the welfare of civil and religious liberty on both sides of the Atlantic.

It was in this year that Wentworth was sent lord deputy to Ireland to make the rule of the King there, as he wrote to Laud, "as absolute as any prince's in the world."[3] It was this year that Charles attempted his invasion of the liberties of the Kirk of Scotland under the wing of the royal

[1] Winthrop's *Journal*, i, 130.
[2] *Mass. Col. Records*, i, 109.
[3] Green's *History of the English People*, iii, 155.

supremacy. This year saw also the proclamation of the King ordering every minister to read the declaration in favor of Sunday afternoon pastimes; for refusing to read which "contradiction of the command of God" many hundred "ministers were driven from their livings, excommunicated, and forced to leave the kingdom."[4] This was the year, too, when the plan of the Puritans for buying up some of the presentations to livings, thereby to secure in some measure the preservation to themselves of Puritan ministers in cases where the congregation were of this way of belief, was roughly put an end to by the citation of the feoffees into the Star Chamber and the confiscation of the purchase money.

But above all else in its bearing on the hopes of those who had the welfare of the Puritan cause at heart, the chief event of 1633 was the advancement to the archbishopric of Canterbury of that most bitter and relentless enemy of further progress in the Reformation—Laud the bishop of London. In his narrower sphere as bishop of the metropolitan diocese, his influence had been potent for deprivation and misery to a multitude of the most godly men of the region in the vicinity of London, among whom were Cotton and Hooker who have been just mentioned. He was now to exercise his authority on a wider field, and with the recognition of the fact thus forced upon them, the thoughts of still more of the worried pastors and flocks of the mother country turned to the new world as their only hope.

These events of the year 1633, happening on either side of the Atlantic, were intimately connected with a long series of occurrences which had preceded them. To set them in their proper light it may be desirable to take a rapid glance

[4] Neal's *History of the Puritans*, i, 313.

at a few of the more important incidents which may be accounted their natural progenitors.

The rupture with the Roman Pontiff which had been effected for England by Henry VIII, and the declaration of the independent authority of the English church, were not to any great extent a religious revival or a doctrinal reformation. The King assumed all ecclesiastical authority into his own control, confiscated the property of the monasteries, restricted the reading of the Bible in English, asserted his own supremacy over all the teaching of the clergy, and persecuted with relentless vigor all who questioned his claims. The annals of his reign are hallowed by the story of many a heroic effort for liberty and truth, and by many a painful sacrifice in their behalf; but when the corpulent old monarch was hoisted by his "engine" up stairs for the last time, and the ulcer finished at once his life and his iron rule, the retrospect was any thing but a pleasing one to the lover of Christian light and liberty. The Papacy had been simply transferred from Rome to Hampton or Whitehall.

His son Edward VI, whose brief reign reaches only from 1547 to the middle of 1553, was educated under tutors in sympathy with the Reformation. And being for the most part under the guidance of Regents, governing in his name because of his minority, who desired a better settlement of the doctrines of the church and a reform of its laws, the Protestant movement made considerable advance. Still the cause was hampered by the imperfect sympathy of many of the bishops, who were not unwilling to preserve the condition of things established by the late King, and who had, despite the nominal separation from Rome, more or less manifest desire for a better understanding with the Papal See.

The refusal by bishop Hooper, in 1550, to be consecrated in the usual Romish vestments, marked the beginning of a controversy which was to give rise to the Separatist movement. But the revisal of the liturgy of the church undertaken in this reign gives what was, after all, the true measure of the advance. This revisal amounted to little more than the translation of the Roman offices into English, and the omission of portions essentially offensive to Protestant ears, and the addition of responses to be voiced by the people, who had hitherto been simply spectators in public worship. The untimely death of Edward in the sixteenth year of his life and the seventh of his reign, put a period to the auspicious beginning which had been made.

With the succession of Mary, the Church of England again became Romanist. The reforms of her brother were overturned. The old laws against heresy were put in violent execution against all who advocated Reformation principles. Mary married Phillip II, and the English people were forced to see a Spaniard coöperating with an English Queen in restoring the practices of the Inquisition in the land. Bishops Hooper, Ridley, and Latimer, Mr. Rogers and many other learned and godly ministers, were burned at the stake. No less than two hundred and seventy-seven persons suffered death for their faith, among whom were five bishops, twenty-one ministers, fifty-five women, and four children.[5] These cruelties, together with minor persecutions innumerable, drove above eight hundred Protestant clergy and prominent laity into foreign lands.[6] Some of them went to Switzerland and some to Germany.

Among those who went to Germany the controversy first

[5] Strype's *Monuments*, iii, 291.
[6] Neal, i, 58.

made prominent by Hooper's scruples about ecclesiastical vestments was emphasized, and resulted in the party of Separatism in English religious history. Some of the exiles wished to preserve the ritual of King Edward; others desired to reform the polity and liturgy into accord with the Presbyterianism of the Genevan churches. Separatism is therefore commonly said to date from this year, 1554. The numbers, however, who desired separation from the Church of England were very few compared with those who only wanted a reform of the doctrine and practice of the church. And so when the accession of Elizabeth, in 1558, enabled the exiles to return to their home, the chief struggle of the reformers was a Puritan rather than a Separatist endeavor.

Some distinctly Separatist movements there were in England about 1566;[7] and more important ones afterward there will be occasion shortly to notice; but for the most part the desire of the great body of the devout clergy was for purer worship and discipline in the church and not for separation from it. Hence, because about 1564 many of the clergy refused to comply with the order of the bishops, enforced by the Queen, to subscribe to the ritual and laws the Queen had determined should be established, they were stigmatized as *Puritans*. And as the Puritans generally agreed with Calvin in matters of faith, a Puritan came to stand in the public eye as a man of strict morals, Calvinist in doctrine, and a non-conformist to the ritual and discipline of the church, though not separating from the church itself.

The long and eventful reign of Elizabeth considered in its ecclesiastical aspect on the Protestant side of its affairs, was little but a protracted struggle between Puritanism, advocated by a growing body of devout ministers and laymen, and

[7] Neal, i, 104.

aided by a considerable number of avowed Separatists on the one side, and Conformity backed by the government and the chief religious authorities of the land in church and state on the other. In this struggle the Queen showed herself the true daughter of her father. Her whole force of will and advantage of power were employed to crush out all opposition to the order of church administration she was pleased to prescribe. She established a new tribunal called the High Commission for the trial of all religious and ecclesiastical offences, not by a jury of twelve men hearing evidence according to the ordinary laws of legal procedure, but by a special board of commissioners of her own designation empowered to interrogate the accused at their pleasure. This High Commission proved a mighty instrument. Put into effective operation by archbishop Whitgift, in the single first year of his administration, 1584, two hundred and thirty-three ministers were suspended in six counties of the Province of Canterbury.[8]

Under the vigorous procedures of this body no less than a fourth part of the clergy of England were, at one time and another, under suspension, and this not on account of any moral misbehavior or neglect of duty, but on account of conscientious scruples which forbade them to wear certain ecclesiastical vestments, for declining to baptize with the sign of the cross, disusing the ring in marriage, questioning the divine authority of the episcopate, and refusing to sign ecclesiastical rules imposed without authority of law.

To people of the present comfortable time some of these particulars of objection to the established system perhaps seem insignificant. To the actors on that stage they were immensely important. The cross in baptism was the repre-

[8] Neal, i, 157.

sentative symbol of a whole world of superstitious ceremonies of which the Roman church has prescribed the observance. The surplice was the badge of that hierarchical separation of ministry and people which long ages of oppression had made so offensive and which the new-awakened sense of the brotherhood of all believers in Christ so discountenanced. The ring in marriage was the token of the Papal doctrine which made matrimony a Christian sacrament under the sole authority of the church. The bowing at the name of Jesus was a seeming impeachment of the reverence due equally to the Father and the Spirit. The observance of Saints' days reminded of ecclesiastical impositions which burdened life with their restrictions and laid a yoke on conscience too hard to bear. The rule of bishops associated with temporal dignities and authority, was a constant assertion of a claim to a supremacy of one soul over many souls which came not from the word of God, but from the devices of man. The objection was based on no mere whimsy of sentiment. As in a time of national struggle a flag may be the symbol of principles reaching into the deepest center of a people's life, and of memories which volumes would be all too scant to unfold, so in the place where the Puritan of Elizabeth's day stood, the ring, the cross, the surplice were signs of things of the utmost concern.

And when it is remembered that these sentences of deprivation and silence were directed, in almost all cases, against the most learned as well as most devout of the clergy of a church, in which it is estimated that at this time not one in six was capable of composing a sermon, some suggestion may be had of the wrong done, not alone to religion but to intelligence, by the rigorous demand of Elizabethan conformity.

It has been said that the great body of the clergy who

sympathized with reform in church affairs were Puritan rather than Separatist. This is undoubtedly true; but there were all along in the latter portions of this reign the earnest advocates of such a reform in church polity as meant only separation. In 1572, Thomas Cartwright, Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, had preached practical Presbyterianism, and had secured the assent of many of the neighboring clergy. In 1580, Robert Browne became an object of governmental disquietude for his public preaching of separation from the church of England as the only hope of reform. He had a long and arduous struggle in the setting forth of his views, having been, as he tells us, in the process committed "to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day." He was obliged at length to exile himself with some of his followers to Middleburg, in the Netherlands, where he established a congregation. It was from this pioneer in Independency that the advocates of separation derived their nickname of Brownists. But however stigmatized or persecuted, Brownism grew and had its martyrs. In 1583, John Copping and Elias Thacker were executed for "dispersinge of Browne's bookes." John Greenwood and Henry Barrowe were hanged in 1593, for publishing opinions of the same kind. John Penry and William Dennis suffered the same fate. Nevertheless the same year which saw the execution of Greenwood and Barrowe, Sir Walter Raleigh said in the House of Commons, "I am afraid there is near twenty thousand Brownists in England." So strenuous, however, were the measures employed for their repression that at a later period of the Queen's reign Lord Bacon was enabled to write, "as for those we call Brownists, they are now, thank God, by the good remedies which have been used, suppressed, and worn out; so that there is

scarce any news of them."[9] Some of their principal ministers withdrew to Holland and established there religious bodies, of which more will be heard hereafter.

It was fondly hoped by those who had suffered under the repressive administration of Elizabeth, that the accession of James, in 1603, would bring some relief. James had been educated a Presbyterian. He had written Calvinistic commentaries on the Scriptures. He had been the ostentatious champion of anti-prelatical views of the continental churches. He was a man of scholarship and was hoped to be a man of Puritan convictions.

But the hopes awakened were doomed to early disappointment. James was met on his journey up to London by a deputation bearing what is called the Millenary[10] Petition, praying "as faithful ministers of Christ and loyal subjects to his Majesty" for the redress of some abuses.

The reforms were substantially those to which reference has before been made as those which the Puritans commonly desired.

As a response to this petition the King appointed a meeting at Hampton Court, ostensibly to confer with the representatives of the petitioners concerning the proposed reforms. The Conference was, however, only a farce. Nine bishops of the church and as many more of its higher dignitaries represented the old order of things, and, as it proved, represented also the King. For the Puritans only four ministers were allowed to appear. They were Dr. Raynolds, Dr. Sparks, Mr. Knewstubs, and Mr. Chaderton; of the latter of which reverend gentlemen there will be occasion to speak again. The Conference lasted nominally

[9] Green, iii, 34.

[10] From the popularly supposed thousand of its signatures. There were in fact over eight hundred.

three days. But it was throughout little more than a series of taunting enquiries and offensive lectures addressed to the Puritan representatives by the church party and the King. James interrupted them with the command to "awaie with their snyvelings," and ended with the declaration, "if this is all your party have to say, I will make them conform or I will harry them out of this land, or worse."

The Puritans saw they had nothing to hope for from the King. He put himself into the hands of the ecclesiastics; he practically renounced the Calvinistic sympathies which he had cherished in Scotland, and became identified with those who advocated Arminianism in doctrine and High Churchism in polity. The vain and obstinate prince, with considerable learning and shrewdness, was wholly unable to comprehend the temper of the English people over whom he was to rule. "Do I mak the judges? Do I mak the bishops?" was his childish exclamation of satisfaction as the prerogatives of his new empire were disclosed to him, "then, God's wauns, I mak what likes me, law and gospel." He more and more withdrew from the wisest advisors of his government, and put successive favorites like Carr and Villiers in their places.

The court of the Presbyterian Scotsman became notorious for its profligacy. Peerages were sold to meet the need of an exchequer which an alienated house of Commons refused to replenish. Negotiations for a marriage of the Crown Prince were opened with the king of Spain. James dissolved his last Parliament in 1621, tearing from the journals of the house with his own hands the assertion of the "liberties of the subjects of England," which were inscribed on the pages, exclaiming: "I will govern according to the common weal, but not according to the common will." He

imprisoned ten excellent ministers who dared to present a moderate petition for church reforms; such petition being declared to be "fineable at discretion, and very near to treason and felony."

Naturally discouraged by such a condition of affairs, sometime in 1608, the Separatist congregation at Scrooby, of which Richard Clifton was pastor, and John Robinson teacher, and William Brewster ruling elder, and William Bradford the most important lay member, succeeded in leaving England and took up a brief residence at Amsterdam, from which place they removed to Leyden.[11]

From this Leyden church in 1620, a portion of the number impelled by the limitations of their condition in a foreign country and among people who spoke a different language, voyaged to America, landing on December 21st, at Plymouth, and setting up on the barren shore of this vast continent, the first New England church of God. Robinson did not come with them. He watched over those who remained on the soil of Holland and sent his counsels to those who departed to the new world till 1625, when he died.

Meanwhile the Puritan struggle went on in England with small prospect of cheer. Charles I, succeeded his father in the same year Robinson died, 1625; a man of sweeter nature than James, but weak, bigoted, and insincere. He was a Stuart; and he married a beautiful but imperious and fanatical Catholic, Henrietta of France. The country was for generations to rue that unfortunate alliance.

He summoned his first Parliament in 1625, but being annoyed by the caution of the Commons in voting supplies before they had some security for the better administration of government, he dissolved it even before his coronation.

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[11] Dexter's *Congregationalism in Literature*, p. 380.

Forced by the exigencies of his treasury to call another in 1626, he imprisoned Sir John Eliot who had spoken against Villiers, the infamous favorite whom Charles had made duke of Buckingham, and dissolved Parliament again. He undertook to avoid the necessity of convening the obnoxious legislators by levying forced loans; but overwhelmed by debt he was obliged, in 1628, to issue summons for Parliament to meet again.

When this Parliament assembled, the first question called up was that of religion. Memorable in all his history is the address of Sir John Eliot in declaring the primal place in all public as well as private affairs of religious truth and behavior. The Commons, in sympathy with the eloquent orator, refused to consider any question—not even of tonnage and poundage, the sore questions of the exchequer—till the religious grievance was discussed. The determination was met by dissolution once more. Henceforth for eleven years no Parliament was to assemble. The government of England was to be absolute monarchy. The chief leader of the opposition, Eliot, was imprisoned and kept incarcerated till, three years after, he died. Charles refused the request of his relatives to convey his relics to the family burial place. He lies, one of the martyrs for liberty, in the grave-yard of the Tower.

William Laud, bishop of London, a sincere, but a narrow-minded and truculent ecclesiastic, was the King's chief advisor in religious affairs. He was a bitter hater of popular rights, and an almost undisguised lover of Papistic doctrines and ceremonies. The affairs of the High Commission court were entrusted to his hands, and his use of these powers was one of the things against which Parliament had complained to the King as "discouraging orthodox and painful ministers,

though conformable and peaceable in their behaviors." No bar now stood in the way of Laud's vigorous malignity. He harried the Puritan ministers of the diocese—the largest and most distinguished in the nation — without rest and without mercy. Thomas Shepard, afterward the saintly pastor at Cambridge in America, and son-in-law to Thomas Hooker, Pastor of the First Church in Hartford, gives a graphic account of his own citation before Laud in 1630. He says,[12] in speaking to him, Laud "looked as though blood would have gushed out of his face, and he did shake as if he had been haunted by an ague fit. . . . He fell then to threaten me, and withal to bitter railing, calling me all to naught, saying, 'You prating coxcomb, do you think all learning is in your brain? I charge you that you neither preach, read, marry, bury, or exercise any ministerial function in any part of my diocese; for, if you do, I'll be upon your back, and follow you wherever you go, in any part of the kingdom, and so everlastingly disenable you.'"

It is not strange that in this condition of affairs, alike civil and religious, the thought of many besides avowed Separatists should have been turned toward the new world as their only hopeful prospect. And it doubtless considerably increased this disposition and made it at once more intelligent and resolved, that Bradford and Winslow's Journals about the affairs of the emigrants to Plymouth had been published in London, respectively in 1622 and 1624, and had brought the condition of the new colony there to the popular attention. The seed was sown on prepared soil, for the Puritan, not much better than the Separatist, could see safety or indeed existence in England.

[12] Shepard's Memoir of Himself in *Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 519.

Accordingly about the year 1622 a company of eminent persons under the advice of Rev. John White, "a famous preacher of Dorchester" in England, and "destined to be under God one of the chief founders of the Massachusetts Colony in New England," [13] and a clergyman of the Establishment, of great weight of character, had organized what is known as the "Dorchester Adventurers" association. They designed to make a settlement at Cape Ann, and carry on the fishing business; conceiving "that the planting of the land might go on equally with fishing on the sea in that port of America." [14]

After one or two ineffectual efforts to carry out their purpose, a company under the lead of John Endicott finally settled down at "Naumkecke," now Salem (a place of hoped-for peace), in September, 1628. A year later the Dorchester Adventurers company being reorganized and much enlarged, a royal charter was obtained under the name of the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." For fifty-five years this charter continued the fundamental law of the Colony.

The securing of this charter was like a trumpet call to the Puritans of England. They began at once to prepare for emigration to the new land of promise. In the spring of 1629 a fleet of five ships sailed from Gravesend for Salem with three hundred men and eighty women, "and a convenient proportion of rother-beasts," i. e. cattle. They had with them Rev. Samuel Skelton and Rev. Francis Higginson, under agreement for "preaching and catechising, as also in teaching the company: servants and children, as also the salvages and their children, whereby to further the main end of this plan-

[13] Hubbard's Narrative, *Young's Chronicles*, p. 25.
[14] Ibid, p. 23.

tation, being by the assistance of Almighty God the conversion of the salvages."[15] Four weeks after their arrival in Salem these two ministers were set over the church gathered at the same time, July 20, 1629, as its pastor and teacher.

The method of their appointment, and its significance as bearing on the question of ecclesiastical Separation, there will be occasion to notice in another connection. Suffice it here to say that the organization of the Salem church and the induction of its ministers is one of the memorial points of American ecclesiastical history.

On the 30th day of May of this same year, 1629, sailed out of Plymouth in England, another vessel bringing "many godly families," among them some men to be afterward known in the annals of Connecticut,—as Mr. Ludlow, Capt. John Mason, and the Rev. John Warham. This company of godly people having "resolved to live together," took the precaution to confederate themselves into religious fellowship before sailing from England. "So they kept a solemn day of fasting in the new hospital at Plymouth, spending it in preaching and praying; when that worthy man of God, Mr. John White of Dorchester, in Dorset, was present, and preached unto (them) the word of God in the fore part of the day; and in the latter part of the day as the people did solemnly make choice of and call those godly ministers to be their officers; so also the Rev. Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick did accept thereof, and expressed the same. So (they) came, by the good hand of the Lord, through the deeps comfortably, having preaching or expounding of the word of God every day for ten weeks together by (their) ministers."[16]

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[15] Higginson and Skelton's Agreement, *Young's Mass.*, p. 211.

[16] Roger Clap's Diary, *Young's Mass.*, p. 347-8.

This "godly company" first settled at what was called Blackstone's-Neck, soon changed to Dorchester, and in 1626 removed with their pastor, Rev. Mr. Warham, to Windsor in Connecticut, becoming the nearest neighbor on the north of the First Church of Hartford.

On August 26th, of the same eventful year, 1629, twelve gentlemen of eminence met at Cambridge in England and pledged themselves to embark with their families for the New Colony. They were led by John Winthrop. They sailed from England on the 7th of April, 1630, and reached Salem on the 12th of June. More than a thousand passengers followed before winter. A chief part of the new company presently sought a better place of settlement than Salem, and fixed, awhile, upon Charlestown.

On a day specifically set apart for the purpose, July 27, 1630, "the Congregation kept a fast, and chose Mr. Wilson (our) teacher, and Mr. Nowell an elder, and Mr. Gager, and Mr. Aspinwall deacons. We used imposition of hands but with the protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England."[17]

Soon after, finding the situation at Charlestown insalubrious because of bad water supply, the larger portion of the people went across the river, and the church became what is now known as the First Church in Boston.

Sometime in 1632 a considerable number of people, mostly from the County of Essex, and from the vicinity of the towns of Braintree, Colchester, and Chelmsford, arrived in New England, and began "to sit down at Mount Wallaston," in the township now known as Quincy. These were by "order

[17] Winthrop's *Journal*, i, 36-38.

of Court, removed to Newtown" under the date in Winthrop's Journal of August 14, 1632. The Governor in recording the events at the time, calls them by the double appellation of "The Braintree company," and "Mr. Hooker's company."[18] Mr. Hooker was then in Holland, and did not arrive for more than a year afterward. It would appear, therefore, that the company set down at Mt. Wallaston were from the time of their arrival known as a special companionship, and as having recognized relationship of expectancy to a minister not yet with them.

These facts lend credibility to the statements of Mather and Holmes, which substantially agree in the representation given by the latter as follows:—"The recent settlers of Newtown had while in England attended the ministry of the Reverend Thomas Hooker, who to escape fines and imprisonment for his non-conformity, had now fled into Holland. To enjoy the privilege of such a pastor they were willing to emigrate to any part of the world. No sooner, therefore, was he driven from there than they turned their eyes toward New England. They hoped that if comfortable settlements could be made in this part of America, they might obtain him for their pastor. Immediately after their settlement at Newtown" — Mather indicates, what was doubtless the fact, that negotiations begun before they left England — "they expressed their earnest desires to Mr. Hooker that he would come over into New England and take the pastoral charge of them. At their desire he left Holland, and having obtained Mr. Samuel Stone, a lecturer at Towcester, in Northamptonshire, as an assistant in the ministry, took his passage for America, and arrived at Boston September 4, 1633."[19]

This brings the story back to the fact with which it com-

[18] Winthrop, pp. 104, 105.
[19] *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vii, 12.

menced. There will be ample occasion hereafter to trace what can be ascertained of the histories of Hooker and Stone up to this point of their debarkation from the *Griffin*; as well as the nature of that ministerial relationship to the "company" called by Mr. Hooker's name. At present it suffices to rehearse the tradition that when Hooker met his waiting people at Newtown, it was with the apostolic salutation: "*Now I live if ye stand fast in the Lord.*"

CHAPTER II.

THOMAS HOOKER IN ENGLAND AND HOLLAND.

Thomas Hooker was born at the hamlet of Marfield[1] in the County of Leicester, England, sometime, it is believed, in the year 1586. This little hamlet of Marfield is one of four tithings or towns which together make up the parish of Tilton, or "*Tilton on the Hill*,"[2] as it was generally known; the other three being Tilton, Halstead, and Whatborough. These four townships have for their common place of worship the noble old church of St. Peter's, built sometime in the twelfth century on the corner of the Tilton precinct, and commanding a wide view over one of the most beautiful portions of midland England.[3] The parish of Tilton belonged to the Priory of Laund till the time of the suppression of the monastic establishments by Henry VIII, when the patronage of the church was bestowed by the King on Thomas

[1] The name is variously spelled in the records of Leicester, Mardifeud, Merdefeud, Mardefelde, Markfelde, Markfield, Marfield; the last being the name it bears at present in the current use of dwellers there, and in the public directories of the county. The place is in the Hundred of Goscote. Another Markfield, in the Hundred of Sparkenhoe, in the same county, some eighteen miles away, has been the occasion of confusion to enquirers for the birth place of Thomas Hooker.

[2] "*Tilton super montem*" is the designation often appearing in the old records.

[3] The word "steeple-chase" is said to be of Leicester county origin, and to have been derived from the many spires surmounting the hill tops of this county, visible on every side, toward some one of which, in default of game, the disappointed hunters directed their chase; the first to gain which was accounted victor, as if he had been "in at the death" of the fox or deer. From Tilton church many such steeple-tops can be counted.

PARISH CHURCH AT TILTON AND MARFIELD, ENGLAND.

(The place of Hooker's baptism.)

Cromwell. One wonders to see so beautiful and costly an edifice, with its embattled tower containing its peal of four bells,[4] and lofty spire, pierced by eight open windows, in so quiet and rural a spot. All the inhabitants of the parish would not half fill it. Nor, however, it might possibly have been at the period of its erection, was it probably any otherwise at the time of Thomas Hooker's birth. Twenty-two years before he was born, the little hamlet of Marfield contained six families. It now contains five.[5] The visitor to-day sees all things substantially the same as they were then. The grand old church of grey stone on the hill-top, surrounded by the graves of the rude forefathers of the various hamlets, each buried in the special quarter of the "acre" appropriated to his own of the four precincts of the parish; the wide-stretching prospect of wooded landscape, and open fields and spire-topped hills toward every compass point; the small, thatch-covered village of Tilton hanging round the crown of the hill,[6] and the little hamlet of Marfield, embowered in trees down in a valley northward about a mile and a half away — the whole spectacle is probably not appreciably altered since Thomas Hooker looked upon it as a boy.

The father of Thomas, himself of the same name, lived in Marfield before him, having, there appears to be evidence,

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[4] The bells are ancient. One bears the inscription *Praise the Lord*; the other three the following: *I. H. S. Nazarenus . Rex . Ivdeorvm . Fili . Dei. Misere. Mei.*

[5] In 1654, according to Parliamentary returns, Tilton had twenty-eight families; Halsted, sixteen; Markfield, six; and Whatborough, one. In August 1882 there were five houses standing at Marfield; the ruins of one other, with some old carved oaken beams, being discoverable. The Wars of the Roses did much to depopulate England two centuries before the period of the Parliamentary return above referred to: but the wonder still remains in many parts of the country how such churches could have been built amid so sparse a population as at any time lived on the soil.

[6] The little tile-roofed Inn — the "*Rose and Crown*" — was once occupied by Cromwell, while his soldiers barracked in the church close by.

been brought here from Blaston in the same county, by reason of his connection in some capacity with the Digby family who were large landed proprietors in the parish, and who was a son of "Kenellyme" Hooker, obviously named for some Digby, in which family Kenelm was a frequent name.

The records of Tilton parish previous to 1610 having perished, it is impossible to ascertain the date of our Thomas Hooker's birth or baptism. All that they furnish is the dates of the burial of his father and mother and of his elder and only brother, with whose death the family name entirely disappears from Tilton and Marfield history.[7] The Hooker family at this date seems to have been a family of some note, as the parish register and the records of the court of administration speak of the father and brother respectively, as "Mr. Hooker," and "John Hooker, Gentleman;" designations which at that date were given only to persons of some social standing.

Of the family influences which surrounded young Hooker in his boyhood there can be formed only a general impression.

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[7] The Tilton parish records (examined by the writer in August, 1882) have the following entries, under their respective dates: April, 1631, "Mrs. Hooker, wife to Mr. Hooker of Marefield was buryed;" July 24, 1635, "Thomas Hooker of Marefield was burried;" January 25, 1654, "Mr. John Hooker of Marfield were burryed." John Hooker's will dated January 1, 1654–5, proved at London, November 26, 1655, as the will of "John Hooker of Marfield, Co. Leicester, Gentleman," bequeaths to his "cousin Samuel Hooker, student in New England, £100;" and to his "cousin John Hooker, student at Oxford, £200." These were obviously the children of Thomas his brother, then dead in Hartford, the first named of whom was then about to graduate at Harvard, and soon to be (in 1661) minister at Farmington; the other was Thomas Hooker's oldest son, John; of whom his dying father said in his will, July 7, 1647, "However I doe not forbid my Sonne John from seeking and taking a wife in England, yet I doe forbid him from marrying and tarrying there." The young man, however, did "marry and tarry" there, and became a minister of the established church, rector of Lechamposted in Bucks, dying in 1684. The designation "cousin" used by the uncle in his reference to his nephews was not unfrequent as applied alike to nephews and nieces at that time. "Tybalt my cousin, O my brother's child." *Romeo and Juliet*, iii, 1.

Who his mother was is unknown. Little more is ascertainable than that she lived to see her son become a preacher famous enough to attract crowds to the great church at Leicester, the county-town twelve miles away; to be the object of special hatred by archbishop Laud, and of banishment from the kingdom. It is known also that besides the two sons, John and Thomas, she had also four daughters,[8] one of whom married a "revolutionist by the name of Pymm" in Cromwell's day; and another who married George Alcock afterward deacon of the church in Dorchester and subsequently of Roxbury, and who laid her bones in American soil before her mother died, and before her brother was exiled.[9]

The family life may have been comfortable and happy in the little Marfield home; but it must have been comparatively narrow and limited. The chief points of interest then as now, outside the concerns of home and the labors by which home wants are provided for, must have been found in the church. The most prominent object which lifted itself before the young boy's eye, and containing many things suited to inspire even a duller imagination than his certainly was, it is not mere fancy to conjecture him sometimes going thither, even at other than times of service, to look at matters which spoke of wider interests than Marfield's grain-crops or family-tales.

There was the quaint octagonal font, of ancient manufac-

[8] Frances, married Tarleton of London, mentioned in the will of her brother John; Dorothy, married John Chester of Blaby, Co. Leicester; and Mrs. Pymm and Mrs. Alcock.

[9] "So not caring to consult further for that time, they who had health to labor fell to building, wherein many were interrupted with sickness, and many died weekley, yea, almost daily. Amongst whom were . . . Mrs. Alcock, a sister of Mr. Hookers." *Dudley's letter to the Countess of Lincoln concerning events of* 1630. *Young's Mass., p.* 314.

ture, at which had been baptized the generations of Tilton's parishioners by tonsured priests way back from near the days of Conquest. There were the monumental effigies of "Jehan de Digbie," and his wife; he, a Crusader, lying cross-legged and hand on his half-drawn sword, at his feet a lion; who died in 1269, and whose stone-likeness was laid here not long after, with the inscription asking prayers;[10] she, full-robed, large-molded, lying by his side, a lap-dog at her feet. There, too, was another of the same family of a later generation, great-grandfather of a boy six years older than Thomas Hooker was, (which boy, Thomas might sometimes have seen at Tilton where so much of the family property lay,) great-grandfather, that is to say, of Sir Everard Digby of the gunpowder plot, executed at St. Paul's church-yard in 1605–6. This old ancestor of the youth who was to attain so sinister an eminence lay there in coat of mail, hands on his breast, a *fleur de lis* on his shield; having just before his death executed his will: "I bequeathe my soule to God all myghty, our blessed lady Seynt Mary and all the Seynts of heven; my boddie to be buryed in the parishe church of Seynt Peter at Tilton, before the Ymage of the blessed Trinitie att our Lady authur."

Other monuments and escutcheons beside, there were, also, to waken enquiry and to freshen fireside-legend and romantic tale.

Who the Vicar of the parish was in Hooker's boyhood is probably learned only from a broken brass tablet in the church at Knossington, recording the burial place of "Thomas Bayle . . . sometime rector of Tilton;" who, because it is known who came before and after him, may with considerable likelihood be believed to have been the minister by whom

[10] "Jehan de Digbie, gest icy; praies pur lui."

he was baptized. Vicar Bayle was succeeded by Christopher Denne. Little is known of him, except that he was there in 1610, and was probably a youngerly man as he had children christened between then and 1613, as shown by the parish records.

But concerning another minister of the parish, in Hooker's early manhood and several years before his brother's burial in the Marfield grave-plot, there is quite definite intelligence. It is a sort of intelligence moreover which sheds a good deal of light, not only on the religious condition of that parish, but on that of the important county of Leicester, and the country generally.

In the Minute-books of the Parliamentary Committee of Sequestration in the Bodleian Library it is recorded, under date of 1645–6, that "Thomas Silverwood minister to the Assembly is referred to the church of Tilton." An entry of a later date, 1647, explains matters: "Whereas the Vicarage of the Parish of Tilton in the County of Leicester is, and standeth, sequestered by the Committee of Parliament from Dr. Manwaring[11] for his delinquency, it is ordered that the said Vicarage shall stand and be sequestrated to the use henceforth of Thomas Silverwood a godly and orthodox divine, and appointed to officiate said cure, by the said Committee of Parliament." The nature of Dr. Manwaring's "delinquency" appears from the report of Parliamentary Survey of the churches in Leicester County, on which the action of the Parliament in "sequestrating" one minister "from" and another "to" the livings of the various Leicester parishes is based.

That report divides the Leicester County ministers into

[11] John Manwaring, S. T. P., Prebendary of Weeford; installed 1 Oct. 1640, and Vicar of Tilton. LeNeve, *Fasti Ecclesiae.*

"three sorts:" first, "Preachers," of whom there were one hundred and fifty-three; second, "No Preachers,"—by which is meant not parishes destitute of ministers, but "no preaching and dumb ministers," as those who either could or would only conduct service by the use of a liturgy were called—and of these there were seventy-six; third, "scandalous of both the former sorts, and they are 32."

The report further divides the first mentioned "sort" of ministers in Leicester, viz., "Preachers," into four classes: "Sufficient, 102; weak and unprofitable, 25; careless and negligent, 20; corrupt and unsound, 6."

The particular incumbent of the Tilton Vicarage was set down as "no preacher, and a pluralitan." From which the inference is that the Tilton Vicar was an anti-Puritan or perhaps high prelatical man, who insisted on confining himself to the liturgy of the church and declined to preach, and that he held some other living beside that of Tilton, also. That he was "Dr." Manwaring[12] seems to imply that his "no preaching" depended rather upon his will than upon his ability, differing in this respect from a great many of the clergy of the day, who were too ignorant to write a sermon.

By some influence or other, however, whether from his father, mother, Vicar Bayle, Denne, or any beside, young Hooker was put, at about thirteen or fourteen years of age probably, on getting an education.

There can be no considerable doubt that the place of this training preparatory to the university was the school at

[12] Was this Dr. John Manwaring a relative of that Dr. Roger Manwaring chaplain to the King and afterward Bishop of St. Davis, whose sermons on the kingly prerogative threw the House of Commons into a ferment in 1627–8, and for which he apologized on his knees in June, 1628, before the House? This prelatical but apologizing Dr. Manwaring was obviously a "preacher," but preached on what the Commons thought the wrong side.

Market Bosworth, established by Sir Wolstan Dixie, a wealthy Londoner having landed property at that place; and which was founded in 1586, the same year Hooker was born.[13] Market Bosworth lies about twenty-five miles distant from Marfield to the westward and close to the celebrated Bosworth-field where Henry, Earl of Richmond, defeated and killed Richard III.[14] The rector of the Parish in which the school was situated and who was also one of the first appointed board of its "governors," was Rev. William Pelsant, B. D.[15] His was undoubtedly the ministry, on the public exercises of which young Hooker attended during the three or four years of his membership in Market Bosworth school.[16] What influence upon the boys, if any, these ministrations at Bosworth had, or what indeed was their quality in reference to the great Puritan and anti-Puritan conflict then in progress, there seems to be no means of determining.[17]

It was probably while Hooker was at this school, about a year before his going to the university, that the great and

[13] Hooker afterwards had one of the two Fellowships at Emmanuel college founded by Sir Wolstan Dixie, the conditions of which demand that the incumbent be either a relation of the founder or a graduate of Market Bosworth school. *See statutes of Emmanuel college, and year books of the university.* Burton says, quoted in *Nichol's Leicester:* "Sir Wolstan Dixie, knight, a wealthy citizen and mayor of London, built here [Market Bosworth] in 1586, a fair, free-school of Ashler Stone, for Grammar scholars, and endowed it with £20 lands by the year, and a very fair house of the same stone."

[14] The year of founding the school was marked by the discovery of a great quantity of the relics of that fatal battle fought just one hundred and one years previously.

[15] Mr. Pelsant died in 1634, having been rector of Market Bosworth "above 50 years." He was also Prebendary of Lincoln, stall of Liddington, inducted March 19, 1588–9. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, and *Nichol's Leicester*, vol. i, part 1.

[16] This school at Market Bosworth is the one of which, in 1732, Samuel Johnson was sometime usher, and where for some reason, outward or inward, he seems to have had a very uncomfortable time.

[17] Sir W. Dixie's own position on these matters, as indicated by his relations to Emmanuel College, would imply that he at least was in sympathy with the Puritan cause, and that the school influence would be on that side.

termagant Queen Elizabeth died, and the uncouth and polemic James succeeded to the monarchy.

Echoes of the stirring events connected with these public matters, must doubtless have reached Market Bosworth, and have been the subject of frequent converse among the bright boys there gathered. The story of the monarch's progress to London from Scotland, when the heads of Cambridge University colleges went out to Hinchinbrook to meet him in their robes of office, and to tender him their allegiance, must have been well known at Bosworth; as also the presentation to him of the millenary petition for church reform, hitherto spoken of;[18] and the badgering of the Puritan ministers at Hampton Court; and many another tale of King, Prelate, or Puritan, of that eventful year.

But all these lively impressions of a great world around, and of great occurrences impending, must have been intensified when Hooker left the grammar school for the university. He was now about eighteen years of age, an eager and impressionable time in the life of a young man of brains, and the Cambridge to which he went was the best place then in all England to stimulate and inspire to earnest thoughtfulness. Cotton Mather says,[19] Hooker's parents "were neither unable or unwilling to bestow upon him a liberal education;" which may be in part, at least, true, but he was matriculated Sizar of Queen's College[20] on the 27th of March, 1603–4, the title signifying a certain inferiority of pecuniary resources. He was, however, before long, at some unascertainable date transferred from Queen's College to Emmanuel, at which he

[18] *Ante*, p. 10.

[19] *Magnalia*, vol. i, p. 303. Hartford ed., 1820.

[20] *Ms.* records of Queen's College, and letters of the librarians of that institution and of Emmanuel. "Sizars formerly waited on other students at table." *Huber's English Universities*, vol. ii, 202.

took his degree of A. B. in January, 1607–8, and A. M. in 1611. "He does not, however, appear to have been regularly admitted at this college except as a Fellow on Sir Wolstan Dixie's foundation." [21]

Here, then, at Cambridge as a student for certainly seven years, and as a Fellow resident it seems probable some years more, Thomas Hooker was, during the period from eighteen to perhaps twenty-eight or thirty, or even thirty-two years of age, in the focus of Puritanism, and in the midst of some of the most considerable actors in the great events of the time.

The university with which he was connected, the particular college with which he was identified, the associates of his studies, the very atmosphere of the town, all conspired to bring a pressure to bear on every plastic soul which must have stamped indelible impressions, and given shape and determination to character.

Cambridge University was representatively Puritan, strongly Calvinistic, and to some extent Presbyterian. Thomas Cartwright, thirty years before had preached and taught in the university the ecclesiastical polity of Geneva, and though he had been silenced and exiled, his leaven still wrought. The Calvinism of Cambridge was of the most pronounced description. The famous preacher, Rev. William Perkins, who influenced the moral and intellectual convictions of so many of the students of the university, molding them to the view of religious truth set forth by the Genevan divine, died just as Hooker entered the college.[22] But Rev. John Preston,

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[21] *Ms.* letter of Rev. J. B. Pearson, Librarian Emmanuel College, Nov. 1, 1882.

[22] William Perkins, b. 1558, d. 1602–3. See as one instance of his influence, S. Clarke's life of Blackerby. "*Lives of thirty-two English Divines*," pp. 57–58.

Perkins' disciple and spiritual successor, was in the vigor of his powers, preaching the same stalwart doctrine, and winning noble souls to its embrace.[23] The tone of things in the university in this respect is well illustrated in the *Lambeth Articles* — beyond comparison the most vigorous Calvinistic symbol ever published as representing a phase of English faith — which was drawn by Dr. Whitaker,[24] and promulgated by the authority of the heads of the university, and archbishop Whitgift; and which the scholars of the university "were strictly enjoined to conform their judgments unto, and not to vary from."

But more even than the university generally, the particular college with which Hooker was identified, was regarded as the home and "mere nursery" of Puritanism.

This college was established by Sir Walter Mildmay in 1584 in the buildings of a dissolved monastery of Black Friars, with the consent and charter of Queen Elizabeth.[25] From the first it was reported to be a college in the special interest of the Reformation party.

Meeting Sir W. Mildmay soon after granting the charter, the Queen said to him, "Sir Walter, I hear you have erected a Puritan foundation." He replied, "No, madam, but I have set an acorn, which, when it become an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof."

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[23] John Preston, b. 1587, d. 1628. Eminent preacher and author, and after Lawrence Chaderton, Master of Emmanuel College; called by Echard, "the most celebrated of the Puritans." See Thomas Shepard's reference to him in his autobiography. *Young's Mass. Chronicles*, pp. 506–510.

[24] Wm. Whitaker, b. 1547; Master St. John's College, Cambridge, 1586; d. 1595.

[25] Sir W. Mildmay, a prominent statesman and counsellor of Elizabeth; employed in many high trusts, died May 31, 1589, and was buried in Great St. Bartholomew in London. As pertinent to the purposes of the present chronicle, as will be seen hereafter, it may be mentioned that he was one of the Governors of the Grammar School in Chelmsford, and in 1575 gave stone for completing the tower of St. Mary's Church there.

It must be confessed the fruit was largely of the variety the Queen suspected and disliked. During the Commonwealth, no less than eleven Masters of other colleges in Cambridge were graduates of Emmanuel, all more or less distinct representatives of Puritan views.[26]

A single but very significant hint of the temper of things in Emmanuel remains visible to this day. Alone, of all the college chapels in Oxford or Cambridge, its original chapel—now indeed disused for this service, and turned into the library — stands north and south, instead of east and west. A report made to archbishop Laud of the condition of things at Emmanuel under date of September 23, 1633, doubtless gives a substantially correct account of matters, as they were only a short time before, in Hooker's college days. "In Emmanuel College," the reporter says, "their chappel is not consecrate. At Surplice prayers they sing nothing but certain riming Psalms of their own appointment, instead of y^e^ Hymmes between y^e^ Lessons. And at Lessons they read not after y^e^ order appointed in y^e^ Callender, but after another continued course of their own. All Service is there done and performed by the Minister alone. When they preach or Commonplace they omit all service after y^e^ first or second Lesson at y^e^ furthest." [27]

The Master of Emmanuel in Hooker's time was Lawrence

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[26] Lazarus Seaman, Peterhouse; Theop. Dillingham, Clare Hall; William Dell, Caius; Benj. Whichcote, Kings; Thos. Horton, Queen's; Wm. Spurstow, Catharine Hall; John Worthington, Jesus; Anthony Tuckney, St. John; Ralph Cudworth, Christ; John Sadler, Magdalen; Thomas Hill, Trinity.

Writing at a later date Carter, quoted in Cooper's *History of Cambridge University*, says of Emmanuel: "It was generally considered as neither more nor less than a mere nursery of Puritans. So plentifully stocked with them was it during the Great Rebellion, that it sent out colonies for filling almost half the university." He adds, "But this leaven has been happily purged out a good while since."

[27] Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. iii, 283.

Chaderton, a "moderate" and learned divine who was one of the four ministers chosen to represent the Puritan cause at the Hampton Conference; at which mock conference it is reported that he fell on his knees and entreated the railing King, that "the wearing of the *Surplis* and the vse of the *Crosse in Baptisme*, might not vrged vpō some honest, godly, and paineful ministers in some partes of *Lancashire*."[28] Chadderton had been chosen by Sir Walter Mildmay himself, as the first Master of the college which he founded; refusing to go on with the enterprise unless Chaderton would consent to take the office, which sufficiently indicates his standing on the Puritan question from the outset.

And though he is spoken of as "moderate" he had fire enough in his bones to resign the mastership in favor of John Preston in 1622, when he was eighty-six years of age, "fearing that otherwise an *Arminian* successor might be chosen."[29] Indeed the strenuousness of Emmanuel's Puritanism passed into proverb.[30]

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[28] W. Barlow. "*The Summe and Substance of the Conference at Hampton Court*," p. 99.

[29] Chaderton lived to be one hundred and three years old. He was one of the Translators of the King James' Bible, the section on which, with his immediate associates he was employed, being "from Chronicles to Canticles inclusive." Ackerman's *Cambridge*, ii, 237.

[30] The doggerel and ridiculing lines of the ballad of the "*Mad Puritan*," have all their significance from the recognized character of the college to which they refer:—

"In the house of pure Emmanuel
I had my education;
Where, my friends surmise,
I dazzled my eyes
With the light of Revelation.

Boldly I preach,
Hate a cross and a surplice;
Mitres, copes and rochets;
Come hear me pray
Nine times a day,
And fill your head with crotchets."

Percy's *English Ballads*.

Those years while Hooker was at the university were marked by some public events which must have been felt at Cambridge quite as sensibly as anywhere. It was in his second year's residence, that the plot to blow up the King and the Houses of Parliament in the interest of the Catholic party, by Catesby, Digby, Guido Fawkes and others, was discovered just in time to have no worse consequences than the execution of the conspirators. It was just when Hooker was taking his degree of B. A., in 1608, that John Robinson and his Scrooby church, unable to find tolerance for Independency in England, went into exile, for conscience's sake, to Holland. Two years later, James, the whilom Presbyterian King of Scotland, forced Episcopacy again into the country north of the Tweed.

It was just as Hooker was taking his degree of M. A., in 1611, that James inaugurated the protracted fight of the Stuart dynasty with the Commons of England, by dissolving his first Parliament. The years following, to 1620, saw the clouds of civil and religious trouble steadily deepening. They beheld the scandals of Somerset's elevation, of Overbury's murder, of the sale of Peerages for absolute money payments, of the dismissal of Lord Coke, of the rise to supremacy of the ignorant but dangerous Buckingham. They saw the peremptory dissolution of James' second Parliament, the negotiations for the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta of Spain, the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh, the outbreak in Europe of the "Thirty Years War"—a struggle virtually between Protestantism and Romanism—and last, and perhaps least noticed of all, the planting of Plymouth colony by religious exiles from England.

These things, and the matters involved in them, could not

have been other than of intense concern to the nearly three thousand students of the various colleges of the University.

But to himself, an event which occurred apparently after his reception of his Master's degree and during his residence as Dixie Fellow, was to Hooker himself, of still greater moment. Whatever may hitherto have been his religious convictions or feelings, this was the period of his personal spiritual crisis and conversion. His perturbations and distresses of soul seem to have been long continued and extreme. It is not without a touch of pathos that it is recorded that the Providential source of relief to him in this time of trouble, was "Mr. Ash the Sizer, who then waited upon him," whose "prudent and piteous carriage," and "discreet and proper compassions" were of "singular help."[30]

There seems to be evidence that after the passing of this crisis-point in Hooker's spiritual experience he fulfilled some duties in the College as a catechist and lecturer. Mather intimates that non-conformist scruples prevented his taking the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, for which it would seem that his long residence at Emmanuel certainly qualified him. It may possibly have been so, but such scruples did not prevent his assuming, at some uncertain date, but probably about 1620,[31] the "donative" living of Esher in Surrey, a

[30] *Magnalia*, i, 303. Probably Rev. Simeon Ashe, a graduate of Emmanuel; a Puritan minister first settled in Staffordshire: chaplain to the Earl of Warwick in the civil wars; rector of St. Austin in London twenty years; dying in 1662. Calamy speaks of him as "a man of real sanctity, and a non-conformist of the old stamp."

[31] Mr. Hooker's grandson, Samuel Shepard, was born October, 1641,—before which time Hooker was to settle in a parish and make the acquaintance of his wife, and his daughter to grow up and make the acquaintance of her husband. It hardly seems likely that he could have left Cambridge as the first step in all these events much after 1620.

small place sixteen miles from Westminster bridge.[32] This living was certainly a scanty one, amounting to only £40 a year. But the patron of the living, Mr. Francis Drake,[33] by whose appointment he was inducted into the office, received the new rector into his house and "gave him diet and lodging," a fact attended with important consequences to Mr. Hooker.

The persuasive cause of the procuring of Mr. Hooker's services at Esher by Mr. Drake was the condition of Mr. Drake's wife. The story is told in a little volume printed the year Mr. Hooker died.[34] Mrs. Drake was an invalid and a hypochondriac. She had already worn out the consolations of two worthy ministers, Rev. Mr. Dod[35] of Canons-Ashby, and Dr. Usher, afterwards archbishop of Ireland, in their attempts to persuade her she had not committed the unpardonable sin. They being obliged to leave, Mr. Drake heard of "Mr. Hooker, then at Cambridge, now in New England: a great Scholar, an acute Disputant, a strong learned, a wise modest man, every way rarely qualified: who being a Nonconformist in judgement, not willing to trouble himself with

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[32] A "donative" benefice is one given by a patron without the necessity of "presentation" to the bishop, and of induction by the bishop's order; formalities which a presentative benefice involves. It would appear that Mr. Hooker's non-conformity had got so far along as to scruple the propriety of the bishop's authority in settling a minister over a congregation; and, of course, far enough along to constitute an effectual bar to his entrance on far the greater number of benefices in England.

[33] Francis Drake was kinsman of Sir Francis Drake the Navigator; was himself Gentleman of the Bedchamber to James I; married Joanna Tothill, and died aged 50 years.

[34] "*Trodden down Strength, by the God of Strength, or Mrs. Drake Revived, showing her strange and rare Case, great and manifold afflictions for tenne years together. Related by her friend Hart On-hi.* 16mo, London, 1647."

[35] John Dod, known as Decalog Dod, from his Commentary on the Ten Commandments; a celebrated Puritan but Loyalist divine, born 1549; died 1645, æ. 96. "By nature a witty, by industry a learned, by grace a godly divine."—*Fuller.*

Presentative Livings, was contented and persuaded by Mr. Dod to accept of that poor Living of 40*l.* per annum. . . This worthy man accepted of the place, having withall his dyet and lodging at Esher, Mr. Drake's house."

Mr. Hooker's ministrations seem to have been useful, "For Mr. Hooker, being newly come from the University, had a new answering methode (though the same things) wherewith shee was marvellously delighted." It is further recorded that "by God's providence he was married unto her waiting-woman; after which both of them, having lived some time after[36] with her, and he cal'd to be Lecturer at Chelmsford in Essex, they both left her."

It is pleasant to know that Mr. Hooker's counsels, and those of Mr. Dod, which were again renewed, and those of Mr. Witherall, "a powerful, able, good man," who succeeded both, did much to help Mrs. Drake, and that she was "more cheerful in mind divers years," though not wholly happy.

But the chief discoverable result to Mr. Hooker himself of this Esher experience was his meeting with Mrs. Drake's "waiting-woman," Susanna, and his marrying her. Who this lady was, whose future was to be so unexpected—who was to be exiled to Holland, to voyage the Atlantic, to be carried on a litter through the forests of Massachusetts to Connecticut, and to be laid in some unknown spot in Hartford's burying-ground—there seems to be no way of determining.[37]

[36] Mr. Drake's will, dated March 13, 1634, gave to "Johanna Hooker, whoe is now in New England, £30 to be paid to her the day of her marriage." This was Mr. Hooker's daughter who married Thomas Shepard, and it is conjectured that she was Mr. Hooker's eldest child, was born at Esher, and named "Joanna" for Mrs. Drake.

[37] Perhaps the only recorded *saying* of this good woman is quoted in a letter from her husband about one of the alleged judgments which, in 1637, befell a near relative of poor Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, who was "infected with her heresies." Mr. Hooker writes: "While I was thus musing, and thus writing, my study where I was writing, and the chamber where my wife was sitting, shook

Esher's proximity to London favored the more ready recognition of Mr. Hooker's abilities, and it appears that he did for a while, after leaving there, preach in and about the city. Some ineffectual attempts were made to secure his settlement at Colchester in Essex, "whereto Mr. Hooker did very much incline," "but the Providence of God gave an obstruction" to that arrangement.[38]

But at sometime, it would appear in 1625 or 1626, an invitation was extended and accepted for Mr. Hooker's establishment as Lecturer in connection with the Church of St. Mary's at Chelmsford, Essex County, then under the charge of Rev. Dr. John Michaelson, rector of the parish. These Lectureships were an outgrowth of the Puritan movement, and were a device to gain a more efficient preaching service than could often be had from the legal incumbent of a benefice. They were generally supported by voluntary gifts of wealthy Puritans, though sometimes endowed by permanent funds,[39] and were customarily held by persons having scruples about the ceremonies, and consequently not always in priests' orders, who preached on market-days and Sunday afternoons, as supplemental to the regularly appointed church services.

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as we thought with an earthquake, by the space of half a quarter of an hour. We both perceived it, and presently went down. My maid in the kitchen observed the same. My wife said *it was the devil that was displeased that we confer about this occasion.*" *Magnalia*, ii, 449.

[38] *Magnalia*, i, 304. Mather says Hooker's desire to be at Colchester was on account of its proximity to Dedham, where Rev. Mr. Rogers, whom he used to call "the prince of all the preachers in England," resided; but "it was an observation Mr. Hooker would sometimes afterwards use to his friends 'that the providence of God often diverted him from employment in such places as he himself desired, and still directed him to such places as he had no thoughts of.'"

[39] Sometimes also by high ecclesiastical personages. As one example of many: Lyman Patrick, bishop of Ely, established a Sunday afternoon Lectureship at St. Clement's Church in Cambridge in 1591, allowing £30 a year to the Lecturer. Laurence Chaderton, before he became Master of Emmanuel, was Lecturer on this foundation.

The device was exceedingly popular with the multitude who were dissatisfied with "no preaching and dumb ministers," and grew into so large proportions as to be the subject of frequent notice and regulation by the civil and religious authorities.[40] The system was finally broken up by Laud about 1633, who hated the Lecturers and was accustomed to denounce them as the "most dangerous enemies of the State."

Chelmsford is a pleasant town twenty-nine miles east from London. Its old Church of St. Mary's is a venerable Gothic structure of great antiquity.[41] Its patronage was given or sold by Henry VIII to Roger Mildmay, ancestor of Sir Walter Mildmay, who founded Emmanuel College, and in 1575 gave stone for repairs of this church; and twenty generations of Mildmays sleep underneath its roof. This noble old sanctuary became for about three years the scene of Mr. Hooker's public labors. And there is ample evidence that those ministrations made a profound and wide impression. Auditors flocked to his preaching from great distances, "and some of great quality among the rest;" chief of whom was the Earl of Warwick, who afterward sheltered and befriended his family, when Mr. Hooker was forced to flee the country. His labors resulted not only in the visible reformation of morals in Chelmsford, but in drawing together into fellowship in similar endeavors a great many other ministers in

[40] *Neal*, Part II, chap. iv, for various illustrations.

[41] The great tower and most of the older portions are built of the flint boulders, from the size of the fist upwards, found in the chalk pits of the neighborhood, laid in cement. The arch of the Norman door in the great tower has the Boar and Mullet of the De Vere family. In 1641 the Parliamentary visitation was the occasion of a mob, by which the beautiful glass windows of the edifice were destroyed, and Rev. Dr. Michaelson, the rector, subjected to violent personal indignities and injury. The roof of the church fell in, in 1800, and the repair in other stone has an unpleasing and incongruous appearance.

the surrounding country. That they attracted the attention and incurred the displeasure of Laud, the bishop of his diocese, goes also without saying. How likely they were to do so appears vividly set forth in a letter, under date of May 29, 1629, written by Samuel Collins, vicar of Braintree to Duck, Laud's chancellor, and which obviously recognizes the commencement already of ecclesiastical procedures against him. Collins says: "Since my return from London I have spoken with Mr. Hooker, but I have small hope of prevailing with him; all the favor he desires is that my Lord of London would not bring him into the High Commission Court, but permit him to depart quietly out of the diocese. All men's ears are now filled with y^e^ obstreperous clamours of his followers against my Lord as a man endeavouring to suppress good preaching and advance Popery. . . . If these jealousies be increased by a rigorous proceeding against him, y^e^ country may prove very dangerous. If he be suspended, it is the resolution of his friends to settle his abode in Essex, and maintenance is promised him in plentifull manner for the fruition of his private conference, which hath already more impeached the peace of our Church, than his publique ministry. His genius will still haunt all the pulpits in y^e^ country where any of his scholars may be admitted to preach. . . There be divers young ministers about us that spend their time in conference with him, and return home and preach what he hath brewed. Our people's pallats grow so out of tast, y^t^ noe food contents them but of Mr. Hooker's dressing. I have lived in Essex to see many changes, and have seene the people idolizing many new ministers and lecturers, but this man surpasses them all for learning and some other considerable partes, and gains more and far greater followers than all before him.[42]

[42] J. W. Davids' *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, pp. 150, 151.

Writing again on the 3d of June following, Collins says: "I pray God direct my Lord of London in this weighty business. This will prove a leading case, and the issue thereof will either much incourage or discourage the regular clergie. All men's tongues, eyes and ears in London, and all the counties about London are taken up with plotting, talking and expecting what will be the conclusion of Hooker's business. It drowns the noise of the great question of Tonnage and Poundage."[43] Both letters conclude with the advice to let Mr. Hooker get out of the way quietly. Apparently Mr. Hooker had already been to some extent proceeded with.

But in November, 1629,[44] he was still preaching at Chelmsford, for on the 13th of that month a petition to Laud in behalf of "Mr. Thomas Hooker preacher at Chelmsford," signed by fifty-one Essex County ministers, was prepared, certifying that "we all esteeme and know the said Mr. Thomas Hooker to be for doctryne orthodox, and life and conversation honest, and for his disposition peacable," and entreating the "continuance and liberty of his paines there."[45]

It must have been very shortly after, however, that he was forced to lay down his ministry there, which he did in the preaching of a farewell sermon, entitled the "Danger of Desertion," in which he bewailed the signs of God's departure from England, and predicted greater calamities to come.

[43] *Ibid*, p. 152. This was doubtless a clerical view of the matter. But no more striking expression could have been used to indicate the interest in it. In March previous, Charles had dissolved his third Parliament on the "Tonnage and Poundage" issue, and commenced the eleven years' struggle of personal government without a Parliament and in defiance of law.

[44] On April 9, 1628, "Sarah, daughter of Mr. Thomas Hooker and Susan his wife," was baptized at Chelmsford. And on August 26, 1629, she was there buried. Chelmsford *Parish Register*.

[45] David's *Annals*, p. 153.

Leaving Chelmsford he removed to Little Baddow,[46] a small village four miles away, and "at the request of several emminent persons kept a school in his own hired house." Here he had in his employment, as assistant, John Eliot, to be celebrated afterward as the apostle to the Indians, and who was converted while living in his family.[47] His residence at Little Baddow, however, could not have been long. Laud's vengeance followed him.

At the "next Visitation," sometime in 1630, "he was cited to appear before the High Commission Court, and because he was then sick they obliged him to find sureties to be bound in a bond of £50 for his appearance, but as soon as he was well, with the consent of his sureties he absconded and went to Holland, and they paid the £50 into the Court."[48] It was well, doubtless, that he fled. The terrible fate of Alexander Leighton, another nonconformist minister who was this year pilloried, whipped, branded, slit in the nostrils, and deprived by successive mutilation of his ears, might at least in part have been his.[49] The officer arrived at the sea-side just too late for his arrest.

The ship in which he sailed ran aground on the passage,

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[46] Mr. Hooker had probably resided awhile at Great Baddow before perfecting his arrangements as Lecturer at Chelmsford, for the Parish register contains the following entry. "Anne, daughter of Mr. Thomas Hooker clerk, and Susan his wife, baptized at Great Baddow, Essex, January 5, 1626."

[47] *Magnalia*, i, 305. Eliot says: "To this place was I called through the infinite riches of God's mercy in Christ Jesus to my poor soul; for here the Lord said to my dead soul *live;* and through the grace of Christ I do live, and shall live forever! When I came to this blessed family, I then saw and never before, the power of godliness in its lively vigor and efficacy."

[48] The bond was given by Mr. Nash of Much Waltham, a tenant of the Earl of Warwick. The Earl meantime provided for Mr. Hooker's family "a courteous and private recess at a place called Old Park." *Magnalia*, i, 307.

[49] "Bishop Laud pulled off his cap while the merciless sentence [on Leighton] was pronouncing, and gave God thanks for it." *Neal*, vol. i, p. 302.

and was in "eminent hazard of wrack," but escaped that catastrophe arriving safely in Holland.

Arrived in Holland, Mr. Hooker was for some uncertain period resident at Amsterdam, and negotiations looking to his association in the pastorate of the British Presbyterian church[50] then, under the charge of that somewhat "captious Puritan,"[51] Rev. John Paget,[52] were begun. They were broken off, however, Mather intimates, by jealousy on Mr. Paget's part. Mr. Paget, however, says he did not break them off, but that they were terminated by the Classis and the Synod, and that the ground of their action was Mr. Hooker's views, mainly about the propriety of fellowshiping Brownists and his refusing to censure such as "went to hear Brownists in their Schismatical Assembly."[53] By some influence or other it appears that the Synod resolved "That a person standing in such opinions as were shown unto the Classis, could not with any edification be admitted at the Ministry of the English Church at Amsterdam."[54]

Mr. Hooker thereupon took leave of the city and went to Delft. Here he became associated for "about the space of two years" with "Mr. *Forbs*, an aged and holy Scotch minis-

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[50] A vacated chapel of the Begyn Nuns was, early in the seventeenth century, assigned by the Burgomasters of Amsterdam to the British Presbyterians. In most respect its discipline conformed to the Dutch Reformed church.

[51] Fuller's *Church History*, Bk. xi, p. 51. His many controversies, with Ainsworth, Best, Hooker, Parker, Davenport, and others seem to justify the epithet.

[52] Mr. Paget preached his first sermon in this chapel, February 5, 1607. He was inducted into office, April 29th, and continued in the pastorate till 1636, dying in the pastorate. Mather speaks of him as an "old" man at the time of his connection with Mr. Hooker. *Magnalia*, vol. i, 307. See also Hanbury's *Memorials*, vol. i, pp. 540–541.

[53] *Hanbury*, i, p. 532.

[54] *Ibid*, i, 532.

ter," pastor of the British church in that place.[55] Mather speaks with his usual effusiveness of classical illustration of the relationship existing during these two years between Mr. Forbes and Mr. Hooker, comparing them to "Basil and Nazianzen, one soul in two bodies;" but of positive incident records only the first preaching of Mr. Hooker at Delft, from the text: *Phil.* i, 29. "To you it is given not only to believe but also to suffer."[56]

After about two years Mr. Hooker removed to Rotterdam,[57] being invited to some kind of joint pastorate of the English congregation at that place under the care of the celebrated Dr. William Ames, one of the most eminent of Puritan divines.[58]

Here he united with Dr. Ames in the authorship of a volume entitled "A Fresh suit against Human Ceremonies in God's Worship," published in 1633; in view of which a remark made in addition to the main text of the "Fresh Suit" becomes significant of Hooker's position, viz.: "Ecclesiastical corruptions urged and obtruded are the proper occasion of Separation."

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[55] Rev. John Forbes, born about 1870; originally a minister in Scotland, but exiled to Holland about 1611. He became connected with the Delft congregation apparently in 1621, and died about the year 1634, "after he had been removed from his charge at Delft by the jealous interference of the English Government." Stevens' *History Scottish Church in Rotterdam*, p. 294.

[56] *Magnalia*, i, 308.

[57] The British residents at Rotterdam formed themselves into a congregation under the charge of Mr. Hugh Peters in 1623. From the beginning down to 1652, this church appears to have been strictly Congregational, at which time it became Presbyterian. Three and even four clergymen have at the same time been officially connected with this church. Stevens' *Scottish Church*, p. 333.

[58] Wm. Ames, born 1576, died 1633, was a Cambridge scholar educated under Dr. Wm. Perkins. He wrote chiefly in Latin, and is better known on the Continent by his Latinized name *Amesius*. He became pastor of the church in Rotterdam in 1632, which must have been about coincident with Hooker's association with him there. He had been previously professor of Divinity at Franeker. He sustained his new relationship only a few months.

Mr. Hooker's estimate of Dr. Ames was very high; but we are more interested in the statement that Dr. Ames was wont to say of Mr. Hooker, that "though he had been acquainted with many scholars of divers nations, yet he never met with Mr. Hooker's equal, either for preaching or disputing."[59]

But the state of things in Holland was unsatisfactory. Mr. Hooker wrote to John Cotton from Rotterdam: "The state of these provinces to my weak eyes seems wonderfully ticklish and miserable. For the better part, *heart religion* they content themselves with very forms, though much blemished; but the power of Godliness, for aught I can see or hear, they know not; and if it were thoroughly pressed, I fear least it will be fiercely opposed."[60]

Probably, before this, negotiations had already been opened with him to go to New England. It will be remembered that, as early as August, 1632, a company, called "Mr. Hooker's company," were already at Mt. Wallaston. And this letter of Mr. Hooker to Mr. Cotton may have been a part of the negotiations which, at some time, were undertaken to associate Cotton with Hooker in the joint pastorate[61] of a New England company. But however, precisely, that may have been, sometime in 1633 Mr. Hooker crossed over from Holland to England, and, after a very narrow escape from arrest by the "pursivants," to which reference will hereafter again be made, he, with Mr. Cotton, was got incognito upon board the *Griffin* at the Downs, and their identity concealed till they were well out at sea.[62] "Eight weeks"

[59] *Magnalia*, i, 308.

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] *Magnalia*, i, 393.

[62] *Ibid*, p. 309. The "Downs"—originally *Dunes*, or sand hills on the coast now used to designate the anchorage off Deal, inside Goodwin sands.

brought them to New England, and brought Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone to the congregation waiting for them at Newtown, the place to which the Braintree company had been ordered to remove from their first place of setting down at Mt. Wallaston.

CHAPTER III.

STONE, AND THE GATHERING OF THE CHURCH.

In the ship with "Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker" came also "Mr. Stone."[1]

Rev. Samuel Stone was born in Hertford, England. He was the son of John Stone, a freeholder of that place.[2] He was baptized in the Church of All Saints, July 30, 1602. He was consequently, at the time of his reaching New England, thirty-one years of age, and sixteen years younger than Mr. Hooker, his associate.

The town of his birth is the county-town of the county bearing the same name, and is generally pronounced Har'ford.

The name, now spelled Hertford, was formerly quite as often spelled Hartford,[3] and the Borough had, from before

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[1] Winthrop, p. 129.

[2] In a "Survey of the Burrough of Hartford, in the Countie of Hertford, parcell off the lands and possessions off Charles, Prince of Wales. . . . taken in the yeare one thousand six hundred and twenty-one," made by John Norden, Deputy Surveyor, and certified to by John Stone and twelve other freeholders of the "Mannor of Hertford," John Stone's name as freeholder appears with ninety-two others. Cussan's *Hertfordshire*, ii, pp. 261, 262.

[3] The Parish Register of St. Andrews is inscribed on the cover, "*Liber Parochialis Sĉti Andrea de Hartford*, 1598." A monument in All Saints of 1681 is erected to an inhabitant of "Hartford." The name appears often spelled in both ways in the same document, *e. g.* see previous *note*. And Rev. W. Wigram, Rector of St. Andrews, in a letter to the present writer, of date March 7, 1883, says: "The local Regiment of Militia is very scrupulous in insisting that they are of *Hartfordshire*." I wish here to acknowledge great indebtedness to Rev. Mr. Wigram for transcripts from All Saints' Register, and for numerous other interesting items of information.

the time of Elizabeth, the device of a hart crossing a ford for its coat of arms on its public seal.[4]

It is a clean, well-built place, on the river Lea, about twenty-five miles due north from London. It has two ancient parishes, All Saints and St. Andrews, which had for their rectors, during the childhood and youth of Stone, the first, Rev. Thomas Noble, and the second, Rev. Thomas Fielde.[5]

Very little is known of Samuel Stone's early years. The Register of All Saints' parish gives the baptism of nine of his brothers and sisters, between the years 1599 and 1629,[6] and the burial of four of them between 1601 and 1635.[7] Several of Mr. Stone's children, born in new Hartford, were named for their uncles and aunts, whose birth or burial is recorded in the old Hartford register.

We may reasonably conjecture the place of his education, preparatory to the university, to have been Hale's grammar school, in his native town. Richard Hale built and endowed a grammar school adjoining the church yard of All Saints, for the sons of the inhabitants of the town, in 1617, when Master Samuel was about fifteen years old; and, as there was in the place no anterior existing school of any similar standing, it is probable that a part at least of his schooling was obtained there.

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[4] Cussan's *Hertfordshire*, ii, 47.

[5] Rev. Thomas Noble died in 1631, after a long incumbency of uncertain commencement. Rev. Thomas Fielde was vicar of St. Andrews from Dec. 11, 1598, to Aug. 1623.

[6] Jeremyas, bap. Feb'y 18, 1599; Jerome, bap. Sep. 29, 1604; John, bap. July 6, 1607; Mary, bap. Jan'y 13, 1609; Ezechiell, bap. Nov. 1, 1612; Lidda, bap. April 17, 1616; Elizabeth, bap. Oct. 21, 1621; Sara, bap. April 3, 1625; Ezechyell, April 27, 1629.

[7] Jeremy, burried Jan'y 19, 1601; John, bur. Oct. 8, 1609; Ezechiell, bur. Aprill 27, 1629; Lidae, bur. Aug. 10, 1635.

April 19, 1620, found him matriculated pensioner at Emmanuel College, the "mere nursery" of Puritanism. Lawrence Chaderton, who had been head of the college in Hooker's day, was still there, but before Stone took his degree of B. A., in 1624,[8] had retired in favor of the celebrated John Preston, and to prevent the calamity of "an Arminian successor." The influences which molded Stone's college life were, therefore, essentially those which affected that of his predecessor, Hooker. The struggle between Puritanism and Ecclesiasticism was, however, all the while intensifying.

His first year in the university saw the departure of the Pilgrims for Plymouth. The next year after, saw the dissolution of James' second Parliament,—the leaves of its journals torn out by the King's own hand. The year before Stone took his B. A. degree, Prince Charles quitted England in disguise, and appeared at Madrid to claim the Infanta as the future British Queen. Midway between Stone's B. A. and M. A. degrees, James died, Charles succeeded to the throne, married Henrietta Maria, took Laud to be his most intimate advisor in ecclesiastical affairs, and dissolved his first Parliament, even before he was crowned. The year 1627, which marked the formal completion of Stone's course at the university, and his probable departure from Cambridge, beheld the levy of a forced loan by the King, the degradation of Chief Justice Crewe, who refused to acknowledge the legality of that transaction, and the disastrous issue of the siege of Rochelle.

These were important matters crowded into the brief years of a college course, and must have left impressions as

[8] *Ms. record of Emmanuel College.* Mr. Alfred Rose, in behalf of the Librarian writes, April 15, 1883: "Mr. Stone took his first degree somewhat later than usual, as, under ordinary circumstances, he might have been expected to proceed to his first degree after three complete years from his entry."

lasting as any thing derived from the curriculum of the university.

Our next glimpse of Stone is as a student of a theological class in a very peculiar and interesting school.

The Rev. Richard Blackerby,[9] a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, and an eminent scholar and divine, "not being capable of a benefice because he could not subscribe," established a school at Aspen in Essex County, where amid a good deal of harrassment, he boarded and educated divinity students for twenty-three years. "Divers young students, after they came from the university, betook themselves unto him to prepare for the Ministry, and many eminent persons proceeded from this *Gamaliel*."[10] Mr. Stone was among their number.

How long a time Mr. Stone continued under the instructions of Mr. Blackerby is uncertain. The next event of his history which can be recovered, is his going to Towcester, a market town of Northamptonshire, as a Puritan Lecturer.[11] He went thither in 1630 by the commendation of Thomas Shepard, some years afterward the son-in-law of Thomas Hooker, and pastor of the church which succeeded Mr. Hooker's at Newtown. Shepard had himself been invited to the Towcester lectureship, the place being in the immediate vicinity

[9] Born 1572, Cambridge 1589, died 1648. While at Cambridge he was awakened by the preaching of "the famous Mr. Perkins," but was several years in distress of mind. At length, intending to return to Cambridge and lay his case open to Mr. Perkins, as he was "riding over New Market Heath, the Lord revealed himself." Clarke's *Lives of Eminent Persons*, (1783,) p. 57.

[10] "If he was suspended in one county, he would go and preach in another, for his Habitation was near two or three several Counties." He was "almost constantly at *Lectures* in some neighboring town," or statedly preaching "for at least ten years at Stoke by Clare or Hunden, in Suffolk." "He kept three Diaries of his Life, one in *Greek*, another in *Latin*, and a third in *English*." Clark's *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*, pp. 58, 59, 63.

[11] *Shepard's Autobiography, Young's Mass. Chronicles*, 518.

of his home. His commendation of Mr. Stone to the place he could not himself occupy, was not based on any new acquaintance. Eight years before, when Stone and Shepard were at Emmanuel together, Stone, being the elder by about four years, was his advisor in a matter of great concern to him, commending him to the "spiritual and excellent preaching of Dr. Preston."[12] And Shepard records that Mr. Stone "went to Towcester with the Lecture, where the Lord was with him. And thus I saw the Lord's mercy following me to make me a poor instrument of sending the Gospel to the place of my nativity."[13]

It was during the occupancy of this Towcester Lectureship, which post he must have filled for about three years, that Mr. Stone was invited, "by the judicious Christians that were coming to *New England* with *Mr. Hooker*," to be "an *assistant* unto *Mr. Hooker*, with something of a *disciple* also."[14]

It appears that negotiations for associating Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton had previously been made and had failed, and the conclusion having been arrived at that, "a couple of such great men might be more serviceable *asunder* than *together*," the "judicious Christians" turned to younger men. Three were proposed — "Mr. Shepard, Mr. Norton, and Mr. Stone, then a lecturer at Towcester;" the last of whom "was the person upon whom it at length fell, to accompany *Mr. Hooker* into *America*."[15]

One final incident of Mr. Stone's experience in England, remains in the quaint and pedantic narrative of Mather, which shows him to have been, as he always has had the credit

[12] *Ibid*, p. 506.
[13] *Ibid*, p. 518. The pecuniary value of the Lectureship was £30 *per annum*.
[14] *Magnalia*, i, 393.
[15] *Ibid*.

of being, a man of ready wits. The incident took place after Mr. Hooker had come over from Holland to England on his way to America, and, though the fact is not stated, very probably at Mr. Stone's family home in Hertford. It may be rehearsed in the language of the *Magnalia*: "Returning into *England* in order to a further voyage he (Mr. Hooker) was quickly scented by the pursevants; who at length got so far up with him as to knock at the door of that very chamber where he was now discoursing with Mr. Stone; who was now become his designed companion and assistant for the *New English* enterprise. *Mr. Stone* was at that instant smoking of tobacco; for which *Mr. Hooker* had been reproving him, as being then used by few persons of sobriety; being also of a sudden and pleasant wit, he stept unto the door, with his pipe in his mouth, and such an air of speech and look as gave him some credit with the officer.

"The officer demanded, '*Whether Mr. Hooker were not there?*' *Mr. Stone* replied with a braving sort of confidence, '*What Hooker? Do you mean Hooker that lived once at Chelmsford?*' The officer answerd, '*Yes, he!*' Mr. Stone immediately, with a diversion like that which once helped *Athanasius*, made this true answer, '*If it be he you look for, I saw him about an hour ago at such an house in the town; you had better hasten thither after him.*'

"The officer took this for a sufficient account, and went his way; but *Mr. Hooker*, upon this intimation, concealed himself more carefully and securely, till he went on board at the *Downs*, in the year 1633, the ship which brought him and *Mr. Cotton*, and *Mr. Stone* to New England; where none but *Mr. Stone* was owned for a preacher at their first coming aboard, the other two delaying to take their turns in the publick worship of the ship, till they were got so far into the main

ocean that they might with safety discover who they were."[16]

The monotony of the voyage of eight weeks duration was doubtless diversified, as in the case of the Windsor and Salem companies which came before, by one or two sermons or expositions daily, and by the special incident of the birth of an infant child of Rev. Mr. Cotton; the withholding of the rite of baptism from which poor child till land was reached, and a new church-membership established, is a significant indication of the quite pronounced type of Congregationalism which prevailed among the *Griffin's* ship company.

Having reached harbor, Mr. and Mrs. Cotton were on the following Sunday "propounded to be admitted" members of the Boston church. The Sunday after that, they were admitted. And then the child was presented by the father and baptized "Seaborn," by Mr. Wilson, pastor of the church; Mr. Cotton explaining that the reason why the child had not been baptized by him at sea, was "not for want of fresh water, for he held sea-water would have served," but "1, because they had no settled congregation there; 2, because a minister hath no power to give the seals but in his own congregation."[17]

This is very vigorous Congregationalism certainly. Cotton, Hooker, and Stone, had manifestly thrown over a large cargo of ecclesiastical doctrines in which they had been educated. The query naturally arises whether they had not parted with rather more than reason or time justifies? The fact may be noted, however, as having its bearing on the next matter to be considered—the gathering of the Church at Newtown and the ordination of its ministers.

[16] *Magnalia*, p. 309.

[17] Winthrop, p. 131.

Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone arrived in Boston, September 4, 1633. They apparently went at once to Newtown, and on the 11th of October following, in connection with a "fast," were chosen Pastor and Teacher.

The absence of any reference in Winthrop's account of the establishment of this ministerial relationship to any formation of a church at the same time, would of itself make it probable that the Church had already at some uncertain date previously been "gathered."[18] And this probability is enhanced by other considerations. It will be remembered that fourteen months previous, August 14, 1632, the company of people known as "Mr. Hooker's company" had been ordered by the Court to remove from Mount Wallaston to Newtown.[19] And there is evidence that during this year 1632, a "house for public worship" was built at Newtown, with the then very unusual appointment of "a bell upon it."[20] Add to this, the statement of Hubbard, writing before 1682, when many still lived who must have been cognizant of the facts, that Mr. Hooker was "ordained pastor of the church at New-Town, which had all that time continued without a particular minister of their own,"[21] and the probability becomes about a certainty that when Hooker and Stone arrived, the Newtown people had been already, and perhaps for a considerable time, "gathered" into a church estate.

But at whatsoever time this gathering took place there can be little doubt as to the manner of it.

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[18] *Ibid*, p. 137.

[19] *Ibid*, pp. 104–105.

[20] Prince's *Annals*, ii, 75. The statements of Prince, both as to church and bell, is confirmed by an agreement made December 24, 1632, that "every person under subscribed shall meet every first Monday in every month, within the meeting-house in the afternoon, within half an hour after the ringing of the bell." *Paige's Cambridge*, p. 247.

[21] Hubbard, p. 189.

The Braintree company, no more than most of the other Massachusetts Bay companies, was avowedly Separatist. It was Puritan. Its members had probably every one been members of the established church of England. They probably none of them, while in their own land, had stood in a position of declared Separation from it. But three thousand miles of watery distance, and plantation in a virgin wilderness, were great realities which could not be forgotten when then the fashioning of new ecclesiastical institutions was forced upon them. Hence, when the new settlers of Massachusetts Bay came to the formation of their churches, they did, as a matter of fact, fall into the "Brownist" theory of the competency of every congregation of believers to constitute its own church-estate. Indeed, in the very first instance of the constitution of such a church within the precincts of the Massachusetts province—that at Salem in 1629—the direct influence of the avowedly Separatist and Independent church of Plymouth is distinctly recognized. And as that case was a kind of model for others, and probably for this Church of Newtown among them, it may be well to look at it a little more definitely.

The company at Salem under Endicott in 1629, previous to the arrival of Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson, who were subsequently set over them as pastor and teacher, were obliged on account of sickness to send to Plymouth for the assistance of Doctor Samuel Fuller, who was also a Deacon of the Plymouth church.[22] When the Deacon-Doctor arrived at Salem he held sundry conferences with Endicott, not only on matters medical but matters ecclesiastical as well.

The result of these conferences was a removal from Endi-

[22] Samuel Fuller was one of the Mayflower passengers. He had been deacon of the church in Leyden. He died in 1633.

cott's mind of his prejudices against the Plymouth theory of the church, so much as to induce Endicott to write to Governor Bradford of Plymouth, under date of May 11, 1629, "I acknowledge myself much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller among us, and rejoyce much y^t I am by him satisfied touching your judgments of y^e outward forms of God's worship."[23] And when, in July following, the two ministers arrived, and the business of settling the ecclesiastical foundation was entered on, "notice was given of their intended proceedings to the church at New Plymouth, that so they might have their approbation and concurrence, if not their direction and assistance, in a matter of that nature wherein they had been but little before exercised."[24] As a result of all which considerations and conferences, on the 6th of August, 1629, the Salem company constituted themselves into a church, by "setting apart a day for *Fasting* and *Prayer*, for the settling of a *Church-State* among them and making a *Confession* of their *Faith*, and entering into an holy *Covenant* whereby that *Church-State* was formed."[25]

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[23] Bradford's *History Plymouth Plantation*, p. 264, 5.

[24] Hubbard's *Gen. Hist., New England*, 2 *Mass. Historical Coll.*, v, 119.

[25] *Magnalia*, i, 66. Winthrop gives account (i, 214) of the formation of the church at Newtown, February 1, 1636, which took the place of the First, which removed to Hartford. The question was raised "what number were needful to make a church and how they ought to proceed in this action?" Whereupon "some of the ancient ministers gave answer: That the Scripture did not set down any certain rule for the number. Three (they thought) were too few, because by Matt. xviii, an appeal was allowed from three; but that seven might be a fit number. And, for their proceeding, they advised that such as were to join should make confession of their faith, and declare what work of grace the Lord had wrought in them; which accordingly they did, Mr. Shepherd first, then four others, then the elder, and one who was to be deacon (who had also prayed) and another member. Then the covenant was read, and they all gave a solemn assent to it. Then the elder desired of the churches, that, if they did approve them to be a church, they would give them the right hand of fellowship."

Thirty persons signed that Covenant, drawn up by Mr. Higginson, and then, being in their view of the case a fully constituted church with all power under Christ to do whatever it pertains to a church to do, proceeded to ordain Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson as pastor and teacher, notwithstanding both had been regularly ordained ministers in England. And this may be said to have been the general order of procedure among the early churches of New England both with respect to the constitution of a church and the institution of its officers.[26]

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[26] Lechford, writing about 1641, gives this general account of the method of organizing the New England churches: "A church is gathered there after this manner: A convenient or competent number of Christians, allowed by the general Court to plant together, at a day prefixed come together in publique manner, in some fit place, and there confesse their sins and professe their faith one unto another; and being satisfied of one another's faith and repentance, they solemnly enter into a Covenant with God, and one another (which is called their Church Covenant, and held by them to constitute a church) to this effect, viz.: To forsake the Devill and all his works, and the vanities of the sinful world, and all their former lusts and corruptions they have lived and walked in, and to cleave unto and obey the Lord Jesus Christ, as their onely King and Lawgiver, their only Priest and Prophet, and to walke together with that Church, in the unity of the faith, and brotherly love, and to submit themselves one unto another, in all the ordinances of Christ, to mutuall edification and comfort, to watch over and support one another. Whereby they are called the Church of such a place, which before they say were no church, nor of any church except the invisible: After this, they doe at the same time or some other, all being together, elect their own officers, as Pastor, Teacher, Elders, Deacons, if they have fit men enough to supply those places: else as many of them as they can be provided of. Then they set another day for the ordination of their said officers, and appoint some of themselves to impose hands upon their officers which is done in a publique day of fasting and prayer. When there are Ministers, or Elders, before, they impose their hands on the new officers but when there is none, then some of their chiefest men, two or three of good report amongst them though not of the Ministry, doe, by appointment of the said church, lay hands upon them." *Plaine Dealing*, p. 12, 13.

There were different degrees of sensitiveness and somewhat different views about the validity of former Episcopal ordination among the early New England Ministers. When Rev. John Wilson was made teacher of the church of Charlestown, February 27, 1630, by the "imposition of hands" of some of the church members, it was "with this protestation by all that it was only a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce

At some time or other, then, and it may have been well nigh a year before Mr. Hooker's and Mr. Stone's arrival, a church was gathered at Newtown, doubtless by the signature of a solemn mutual compact and covenant, on a day set apart for fasting and prayer, by which visible document of agreement and sacred confederation the signers thereof regarded themselves as made into a Church of Christ, having all necessary powers of admission, discipline, exclusion, choice of officers, and ordination of them to their respective duties.

What, precisely, the words of this Covenant were, there is no possibility of determining; the fatality which has overtaken the entire documentary records of the First Church of Hartford for the first fifty-two years of its existence, having fallen upon this its first document also.[26]

But the phraseology will be in all probability fairly enough indicated by the language of the covenant of the First Church of Boston, its nearest neighbor, which was formed July 30, 1630, possibly three years, but probably not more

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his ministry received in England." Winthrop, p. 38. On the other hand Rev. Geo. Phillips is reported by Dr. Samuel Fuller in a letter to Gov. Bradford as saying: "If they will have him stand minister by that calling which he received from the prelates in England he will leave them." Winthrop, i, p. 16, *note*.

The ordination of Mr. Prudden over the Milford Church in 1640, was by the imposition of the hands of the brethren; and in the ordination of Roger Newton—Mr. Hooker's son-in-law—over the same church in 1660, the ruling elder was assisted by one of the deacons and one of the brethren. Bacon's *Hist. Discourse*, p. 294.

[26] No "records" of the Church are known to be in existence previous to the pastorate of Rev. Timothy Woodbridge in 1685. From that date to the death of Rev. Edward Dorr in 1772, a meager and imperfect account of its transactions and roll of its membership is preserved. Then occurs another hiatus covering more than the entire period of Dr. Strong's ministry down to 1817, with the important exception that the names of members living in 1807 at the time of entrance on the new "Brick Meeting-house," and those added thereafter in the residue of Dr. Strong's days, are on record. See, however, as to the original Covenant of this Church, the suggestion made hereafter in these pages, in connection with the separation of the Second from the First Church of Hartford, concerning a possible identity between the original Covenant and that adopted by the Second Church in 1670.

than about two years previously. That Covenant is as follows:

"In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in obedience to his holy will and divine ordinance: Wee whose names are heer written, Beeing by his most wise and good providence brought together, and desirous to unite o^r^selves into one congregation or church, under o^r^ Lord Jesus Christ our Head: In such sort as becometh all those whom he hath Redemed and sanctified unto himself, Doe heer sollemnly and Religiously as in his most holy presence, Promise and bynde o^r^selves to walke in all o^r^ wayes according to the Rules of the Gospell, and in all sinceer conformity to his holy ordinances; and in mutuall Love and Respect each to other: so near as God shall give us grace."

Who precisely they were who subscribed at first to the Covenant cannot be affirmed. If the organization was as late as the autumn of 1632, which is probable—the Braintree Company being transferred from Mt. Wallaston to Newtown in August of that year, and a large reinforcement of men to be prominent in the Church arriving from England in September, and the church edifice being erected doubtless after the Mt. Wallaston migration—the subscription to the Covenant, it can hardly be doubted, included the names of William Goodwin and Andrew Warner, shortly to be officers in the new organization.[27] The gathering of the Church, by subscription to the Covenant would naturally be followed by the

[27] William Goodwin, Edward Elmer, John Benjamin, William Lewis, James Olmstead, Nathaniel Richards, John Talcott, William Wadsworth, and John White, all of whom but John Benjamin came with the church to Hartford, arrived in Boston in the *Lion*, September 16, 1632. Simon Sackett and William Spencer, who also came to Hartford, were in Newtown before the arrival of the Braintree Company from Mt. Wallaston in August, 1632. Andrew Warner, Matthew Allen, John Steele, Edward Stebbing, Richard Butler, Jeremy Adams, John Clark, Richard Goodman, Stephen Hart, Thomas Hosmer, William Kelsey, Richard Lord, Hester Mussy, Nathaniel Richards, Thomas

choice and induction of such officers "as they can be provided of." And William Goodwin may at this time have been chosen Ruling Elder; and Andrew Warner, and possibly some one else, Deacons.

The Ruling Eldership was an office of much dignity in the first New England churches. Its functions were numerous. The ruling elder was expected to moderate at church meetings, to propose the admission and dismission of members, to prepare all matters of business to come before the church, to exercise a watch over the private conduct of the church members, to reconcile differences among the members, to bring incorrigible offenders to the judgment of the collective brotherhood, to pronounce the censures determined on by them, to call the church together, to dismiss its meetings with the benediction, to visit the sick, to ordain persons elected by the church to any office therein, to preach in the absence of pastor and teacher.[28]

These were certainly very numerous and difficult functions; liable to traverse at one extreme the duties and rights of the pastorate, and at the other the rights and responsibilities of the brotherhood. This liability became oftentimes an annoying reality, so that the ruling eldership, within fifty years of the New England planting, fell into neglect, and was soon generally abandoned.[29]

In the present case the office was devolved upon the only person who ever was appointed to it in the history of this

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Spencer, George Steele, Richard Webb, William Westwood, all of whom came to Hartford, may, most of them, with high degree of probability, be reckoned to have been of the "Braintree Company" proper, and consequently on the ground in August, 1632. See Paige's *Cambridge*, pp. 11–32.

[28] See Hooker's *Survey*, part ii, chap. i, pp. 16–19; Cotton's *Keyes*, pp. 20–23; Cotton's *Way of the Churches*, pp. 36–38, etc.

[29] The First Church in Boston chose two ruling elders as late as September 18, 1701.

Church, Mr. William Goodwin,[30] a "very reverend and godly," but a very strong willed and persevering man, who stands out a conspicuous figure in the Church's early story. From all that appears he was an able, resolute, upright, and Christian Elder, intent on the pure administration of the Gospel and of Gospel institutions. But it may be fairly questioned, also, whether the very experience of his vigor and pertinacity in the discharge of what he regarded as the functions devolved upon him—to which there will be an ample necessity of referring hereafter—was not one of the most persuasive arguments with the Church for never appointing a successor.

But whensoever it was that Mr. Goodwin was chosen Ruling Elder and Andrew Warner Deacon, they doubtless officiated, according to the usage of the churches already instituted, in the induction of Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone into their respective offices as Pastor and Teacher.

This event, as we learn from the only contemporary record of the transaction, the journal of Governor Winthrop, occurred on the 11th of October, 1633. The brief statement which he makes is as follows: "A fast at Newtown, when Mr. Hooker was chosen Pastor, and Mr. Stone teacher, in such manner as before at Boston."[31] He

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[30] William Goodwin, who, with some degree of probability is thought to have been an Oxford graduate, admitted B. A., 1622–3, arrived in New England, September 16, 1632. He was a member of the General Court in Massachusetts in 1634. He was prominent in all the early transactions of the Hartford settlement; a man of large means and great influence. In the troubles of Stone's day, he left Hartford in 1660, and went up the river to Hadley, where he was also ruling elder. Thence he went to Farmington, where he died in 1673. Governor Winthrop (*Journal*, p. 169, vol. i), speaks of him as "a very reverend, and godly man," but records his censure in "open court" for some "unreverend speech to one of the Assistants;" as also Goodwin's humble acknowledgment of "his fault."

[31] i, p. 137

enters into no description of the event because he had recorded on the previous day, October 10th, the "manner" of procedure at the ordination of Rev. Mr. Cotton as pastor of the church in Boston, of which Winthrop was himself a member.

That procedure becomes thus a guide in the present transaction at Newtown. And in the light of it no essential mistake can be made if it is described to have taken place as follows:[32] A Ruling Elder and two Deacons having been chosen—either at that time, or, as we have seen to be more probable, at an earlier date unknown—the "Congregation" signified in response to the proposal by the Ruling Elder, their choice of Mr. Hooker as Pastor, and of Mr. Stone as Teacher, by "erection of hands." Then the Ruling Elder asked the two elected officers if they "did accept of that call." Whereto if they answered, as did Cotton at Boston, they, in effect, replied that knowing themselves "to be unworthy and insufficient for that place, yet having observed all the passages of God's Providence in calling (them) to it (they) could not but accept it." Whereupon the Ruling Elder and "3 or 4 of y^e^ gravest members of y^e^ church,"[33] laid their hands on Mr. Hooker's head, and the Ruling Elder prayed, and then "taking off their hands, laid them on again, and, speaking to him by name, they did thenceforth design him to said office of pastor in the name of the Holy Ghost, and did give him charge of the congregation, and thereby (as by a sign from God) indue him with the gifts fit for his office, and lastly did bless him." The Pastor having thus been ordained, he, now taking

[32] Winthrop, vol. i, 136.

[33] See letter of Charles Gott to Bradford about the ordination of Higginson and Skelton at Salem. Bradford's *History*, p. 266.

the lead, laid his hand together with the Ruling Elder and some "grave member" of the church beside, on the head of Mr. Stone, and with similar service of prayer, and declaration of office, and sign of induement with gifts of the Holy Ghost, and with benediction, ordained him to the office of Teacher. Then if Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson or other "neighboring ministers" were present, as was probably the case, they gave the new Pastor and Teacher the "right hand of fellowship." And so the Church in Newtown became fully equipped and officered for its work; being, if we must suppose it not organized till this date of October 11, 1633, the tenth or eleventh church gathered on this New England soil; but if organized before, as we have seen reason to believe it was, being probably, as Johnson says, the "eighth." [34]

Pastor and Teacher—the distinction made between these two officers in the primitive New England church, was supposed to be based on Scripture and to be practically important. This distinction is as well stated, perhaps, as anywhere in an "Answer" of certain "Reverend Brethren" in New England sent in 1639, to certain enquiries addressed to them in 1637 by "many Puritan Ministers" in old England; the twenty-second of which enquiries was this: "What Essentiall difference put you between the Office of Pastor and Teacher, and doe you observe the same difference inviolably?" [35] To which enquiry, this reply was given: "And for

[34] *Wonder Working Providence*, p. 61. The First Church in Roxbury, generally reckoned the sixth in point of constitution, was gathered in July, 1632; that in Lynn in August; Roxbury and Mansfield are supposed to follow, in that order, in 1632, both previous to the church at Charlestown, November 2, 1632. If the Church at Newtown was gathered at the building of its church in 1632, it probably comes in order of birth somewhere between Lynn, the seventh, and Charlestown, generally called the tenth. See Dexter's *Congregationalism in Literature*, p. 413.

[35] *Church Government and Church-Covenant Discussed, etc.*, p. 5.

the Teacher and Pastor, the difference between them lyes in this, that the one is principally to attend upon points of Knowledge and Doctrine, though not without Application; and the other to points of Practice though not without Doctrine; and therefore the one of them is called, *He that teacheth*, and his worke is thus expressed, *let him attend on teaching;* and the other, *He that exhorteth*, and his worke, *to attend on exhortion*, Rom. 12, 7, 8, and the gift of one is called *a word of knowledge*, and the gift of the other, *a word of wisdom*, 1 Cor. 12, 8, as experience also showeth, that one man's gift is more doctrinall, and for points of knowledge; and another more exhortatory, and for points of practice." [36]

Both were preachers, but the Pastor's function as a preacher was thought to have reference to the practical part of life and behavior; the Teacher's rather to doctrine and faith. Both had oversight of the flock, but the Pastor was supposed to be the shepherd and feeder, the Teacher the guide and warder. Both were to be vigilant against error, but the Pastor chiefly in matters of practice, the Teacher in matters of belief. Both gave their whole time to the work of the ministry, and were supported by the common funds of the congregation.

Yet it is obvious the distinction between these two offices was an obscure one, and that each was likely to be continually taking on the features of the other. The Pastor could not preach much without dealing with matters of doctrine; and the Teacher could not instruct long without dealing with matters of practice. So that it is not a surprising thing that this supposed important distinction between the pastoral and the teaching function, though lasting longer than the supposed

[36] *Ibid*, p. 76. The "Answer of the Elders" was drawn up by the hand of Richard Mather.

necessity of the ruling eldership, became before a very great while obsolete. In few churches did it exist beyond its first ministerial generation.[37] In this First Church it lasted long enough, perhaps, to see a second pair of pastors and teachers succeeding those who were earliest appointed, but then it died.[38]

There was the element of a want of a clear and substantial difference between the two functions, always existent to threaten the perpetuity of the continuance of the offices; and there was, also, the further and very practical consideration of the expensiveness of the arrangement to threaten it also. If the work could be done by one man, the question of paying two would be a question few New England congregations would be long in finding how to answer to the benefit of the economic side. From the first the pastoral office seems to have been the more honored, and the more largely recompensed,[39] and not many years went by before the dual

[37] Salem's first pastor Skelton, dying in 1634, saw two teachers associated with him, Higginson in 1629, and Roger Williams in 1633, with the latter of whom the office died. The pastor of the First Church of Boston, Wilson, dying in 1667, saw also two teachers joined with him, Cotton in 1633, and Norton in 1687, which ended the office there; as Davenport and Allen who succeeded Wilson in 1668 seem to have been colleague pastors. The first pastor of the Second Church of Boston, Mayo, dying in 1676, had one teacher joined with him, Mather, 1664. There does not appear to have been another. John Davenport, the first pastor of the First Church of New Haven, had two teachers associated with him, Hooke in 1644, and Street in 1689; but when Davenport went to Boston in 1667, Mr. Street was left in sole charge, and the office of teacher ended.

[38] It is not, perhaps, quite certain whether the relationship of Whiting and Haynes was that of Pastor and Teacher, or of colleague pastors. There was at first a difference in recompense which suggests the idea of the official distinction, but that may have been only in deference to the question of seniority in experience and supposed value of service.

[39] The Second Church of Boston has this record under date of August 22, 1662: "The Church of y^e^ North End of Boston, met at Bro. Collicott's and there did agree, y^t^ Mr. Mayo (Pastor) should have out of which is given to the church annually £65; Mr. Mather (Teacher) £50, and Mr. Powell (Ruling Elder) £25."

pastorate based on that passage in Ephesians, "He gave . . . pastors and teachers," became, like the ruling eldership, a thing of the past. Associate, or colleague pastors we see occasionally in our churches, but the distinction is not now based on differences of function in office; but simply on the inability of one man, whether by reason of advancing age or largeness of work to be done, to fulfil alone the duty required.

But in that fresh new day of ecclesiastical experiment and of consecrated devotion, Pastor and Teacher were deemed indispensable. And Hooker and Stone entered upon the work of the two functions side by side.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHURCH AT NEWTOWN AND REMOVAL TO HARTFORD.

"Gather my saints together unto me; those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice." A covenant by sacrifice was what most of the Newtown settlers must have made in coming from England to the American wilderness. The change from the settled homes, the fertile fields, the milder atmosphere, the stately churches, the familiar ways of the old land, to the raw plantations, the rigorous climate, the rude habitations of a new colony, was a change which demanded high purpose and self-sacrificing stedfastness. Most of those who were gathered in the Newtown Church were people who came from conditions of life which certainly implied comfort, and some from those which implied luxury.

The ministers were men of University education and of public reputation in the home country. They had preached in great churches to thronging multitudes. They preached now in a lowly church of logs or boards to a few men and women, like themselves exiles.

For all, but especially for the women, of whose part in the sacrifice history preserves all too scanty memorial, but whose part was great and heroic—however unwritten save in that invisible record which woman's deeds have done so much to fill with sacred story—the hardship must have been great.

As the autumn days shortened about the settlers who had just installed their Pastor and Teacher in this October of 1633, Newtown was a little village of about a hundred families.

In December of 1630, nearly three years before, the spot had been fixed upon,[1] previous to the arrival of any persons belonging to the "Braintree Company" as the site for a fortified town; some houses were erected and a "pallysadoe" made, and a fosse dug about the designated precinct.[2] Thomas Dudley and Simon Bradstreet, and two or three others, had houses here as early as 1631. In August of 1632 the place received a large accession by the transference to this spot of the Braintree company, otherwise known as "Mr. Hooker's company," who had first settled at Mt. Wallaston.

Then, later, arrived Mr. Goodwin, and several others with him in the *Lion*, in September. And in 1633, Mr. Hooker, and those who accompanied him — together doubtless with some at intermediate periods whose arrival is unrecorded — so that winter gathered round a settlement which William Wood, writing the same year, describes as "one of the neatest and best compacted towns in New England, having many fair structures, with many handsome-contrived streets. The inhabitants are most of them very rich, and well stored

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[1] *Winthrop*, i, 46. Dudley, in a letter to the Countess of Lincoln, says: (*Young's Mass.*, p. 320.) "After divers meetings at Boston, Roxbury, and Waterton, on the 28th of December we grew to this resolution, . . . to build houses at a place east of Waterton, near Charles river, the next spring, and to winter there the next year; so that by our examples, and by removing the ordnance and munition thither, all who were able might be drawn thither, and such as shall come to us hereafter to their advantage be compelled so to do; and so, if God would, a fortified town might there grow up, the place fitting reasonably well thereto."

[2] *Mass. Col. Rec.*, i, 93. Holmes, in *Mass. Hist. Society Col.*, vii, 9, says that portions of the fosse were visible in 1800.

with cattle of all sorts, having many hundred acres of ground paled in with one general fence, which is about a mile and a half long, which secures all their weaker cattle from the wild beasts."[3] These fair structures and handsome-contrived streets, must be understood in the light of certain orders on the records of the little town, that "all the houses within the bounds of the town shall be covered with slate or boards and not with thatch," and that "all houses shall range even, and stand just six feet on each man's own ground from the street," and that "whosoever shall fall any tree and let it lie across a highway one day, shall forfeit the tree."[4]

Here then was the village and Church of Newtown, with its meeting-house "with a bell upon it."[5]

Meantime the project for fortifying the place and making it the main town of the Colony was gradually surrendered, as the superior advantages of Boston became more and more apparent. Yet the place had a reasonable proportion of the prominent men of the Colony,[6] and might, perhaps, have remained the permanent seat of Government had not the principal inhabitants so soon after, as we have occasion to see, removed from it.

The coming of so marked a reinforcement of the ministry of the Bay, as was implied in the arrival of Cotton, Hooker, and Stone, was a source of profound rejoicing to the whole Colony.[7] The ministers themselves instituted a meeting "at

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[3] Wood's *New England's Prospect*, in Young's *Mass.*, 402.

[4] Paige's *Cambridge*, p. 18–19.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 17–22, and *ante*, p. 53.

[6] Dudley, the Deputy Governor, who became Governor in 1634, resided here; Bradstreet, who was an Assistant, was here also; and so also was Haynes, who was chosen an Assistant in 1634, and Governor in 1635.

[7] The people were accustomed to say that their "three great necessities were now supplied; for they had Cotton for their clothing, Hooker for their fishing, and Stone for their building."

one of their houses by course, when some question of moment was debated." This meeting, the probable progenitor of the Boston Association of Congregational Ministers, was, however, looked upon askance by Mr. Skelton, the pastor at Salem, and by Roger Williams, who was with him "exercising by way of prophecy"; they "fearing it might grow in time to a presbytery or superintendency, to the prejudice of the churches' liberties."[8] Apparently, however, the fear was not shared by others; and Thomas Shepard, of Charlestown, in 1672, refers to these meetings, held when he was a boy, as of great utility.

Special religious awakening at Boston followed the coming of Mr. Cotton,[9] and it was probably at this time that the Thursday lectures were established in each of the four adjacent towns of Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, and Newtown. But by October of the following year, 1634, "it being found that the four lectures did spend too much time, and proved overburdensome to the ministers and people; the ministers with the advice of the magistrates, did agree to reduce them to two days, viz.: Mr. Cotton at Boston one Thursday, or the 5th day of the week, and Mr. Hooker at Newtown the next 5th day, and Mr. Warham at Dorchester one 4th day of the week, and Mr. Wilde at Roxbury the next 4th day".[10] Apparently, however, this arrangement did not long suit the people, who then, as generally, liked to get all they could out of their ministers; and in December following, the old practice of the afternoon lectures in each town was resumed.[11] Mr. Cotton's discourses on these Thursday lectures ranged over the whole field of manners and morals as well as doctrine.

[8] Winthrop, i, 139.
[9] *Ibid*, i, 144.
[10] *Ibid*, 172.
[11] *Ibid*, 180.

One of them was about veils for women. Mr. Cotton argued that veils were not universally necessary. Mr. Endicott, the fervid leader of the Salem company, being present, argued otherwise, alluding to the commandment of "the Apostle". And the discussion waxed so warm that the Governor—Winthrop—felt called on to interpose "and so it break off."

At another lecture, Mr. Cotton, being moved by complaints of the sharp dealing of Robert Keaine, a merchant of Boston, "laid open the error of some false principles" in matters of trade; one of which false principles was, "That a man might sell as dear as he can, and buy as cheap as he can;" another, "That he may sell as he bought, though he paid too dear, and though the commodity be fallen." Against which he laid down the proposition, among others, that "A man may not ask any more for his commodity than the selling price, as Ephron to Abraham, the land is worth thus much."[14]

At still another lecture, Mr. Cotton came down in reproval on a proposition pending in the General Court for leaving out of office "two of their ancientest magistrates because they were grown poor," censuring "such miscarriages," and telling "the country, that such as were decayed in their estates by attending to the service of the country ought to be maintained by the country."[15]

But the staple of Mr. Cotton's Thursday lectures was religious exhortation and scripture exposition. He had practiced the same thing at his lectures in England, and in the course of his lectures "at both Bostons, went through near the whole Bible."[16] Various issues of Mr. Cotton's exposi-

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[12] *Ibid*, 149.
[14] *Ibid*, 378–382.
[15] *Ibid*, ii, 67.
[16] Joshua S. Colton's *Narrative of the Planting*, 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv, 284.

tions on parts of the Apocalypse were soon printed in England.

Mr. Cotton's Thursday lectures were probably in substance and topic essentially the same with those of other ministers of the Colony. We know more of them, mainly, because he had not only great ability, but he had an intelligent hearer who kept a journal. Mr. Hooker had no Governor Winthrop keeping a diary among his Newtown congregation, but he appears to have taken his full share in the matters going on. In 1633 and again in 1636, he was associated with Cotton and Wilson in reconciling certain oppositions of the somewhat touchy Mr. Dudley of Newtown and Mr. Winthrop of Boston — once on some personal difference,[17] and again about the degree of leniency allowable in the administration of public affairs;[18] Dudley being in favor of sterner measures than Winthrop practiced or desired. On the second of these occasions, Mr. Haynes, of Newtown, then governor, sided against the lenient conduct of Winthrop; a fact, perhaps, to be made note of in explaining questions which will shortly arise concerning the causes of separation in the Colony.

In November, 1634, the Assistants called on Mr. Hooker, with Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Wilde, the pastor of the Roxbury church, to take to task his old acquaintance, the usher of the Little Baddow school, John Eliot—then the young teacher of the church of Roxbury, afterward the saintly Apostle to the Indians—for saying something in his pulpit in the way of criticism of the magistrates in their manner of making a peace with the Pequots.[19]

So, too, Mr. Hooker was called on by the magistrates in

[17] Winthrop, i, 139–140.
[18] *Ibid*, 212.
[19] *Ibid*, 179.

October, 1635, to deal with another offender—the then restless and afterward famous Roger Williams, "exercising by way of prophecy" at Salem. Mr. Williams had written two letters; one to the churches of the Colony generally, "complaining of the magistrates;" the other "to his own church, to persuade them to renounce communion with all the churches in the bay, as full of anti-Christian errors." Being summoned before the Court, Mr. Williams "justified both the letters, and maintained all his opinions." Whereupon, "Mr. Hooker was appointed to dispute with him, but could not reduce him from any of his errors." But the magistrates had a reserve argument. The "next morning the court sentenced him to depart out of our jurisdiction within six weeks, all the ministers save one approving the sentence."[20] In April, 1635, Mr. Hooker preached before the General Court at Newtown, "and showed the three great evils," whatever they may have been.[21]

The Pastor of the Newtown Church took a hand, also, in another question which seems puerile in itself, but which had its significance in old conflicts for conscience sake across the water. Mr. Endicott at Salem had, apparently because he thought it a symbol of idolatry, cut the Cross out of the military ensign. The matter made a great stir. The towns were called on to choose a commission of one from each town on the subject, to which commission the magistrates added four. The commission adjudged Mr. Endicott's "offence to be great," and "adjudged him to be worthy of admonition," and disablement from office "for one year;... declining any heavier sentence because they were persuaded he did it out of tender-

[20] *Ibid*, 204.
[21] *Ibid*, 185.

ness of conscience, but not of any evil intent."[22] A sensible and quiet-tempered paper on the subject of this controversy was written by Mr. Hooker, which is preserved.[23] Its general bearing may be sufficiently inferred from the single paragraph: "Not, that I am a friend to the crosse as an idoll, or to any idollatry in it; or that any carnall fear takes me asyde and makes me unwilling to give way to the evidence of the truth, because of the sad consequences that may be suspected to flow from it. I blesse the Lord, my conscience accuseth me of no such thing; but that as yet I am not able to see the sinfulness of this banner in a civil use" And the language throughout is that of a man not easily blown away by what this proved to be, a temporary whirl of excitement.

But, on the whole, this period of the Pastor's and the Church's history at Newtown does not seem to be very fruitful of important incidents.

The Church doubtless prospered as well as most of the new churches of the country; its elder minister was as honored as any man, unless it were Mr. Cotton, in the Colony, its prominent lay member, Mr. John Haynes, was chosen Governor in May, 1635, on which occasion he signalized his liberality and his ability alike, by declining to receive the usual salary of the office.[24] The town was apparently as prosperous and wealthy as any in the Bay, its tax being as large as Boston's.[25]

But there was, all along, from very near the arrival of

[22] *Ibid*, 188.

[23] Mass. Hist. Society, *Manuscript*.

[24] Winthrop, i, 190.

[25] The assessment laid by the Court in May, 1635, was as follows: Dorchester, Boston, and Newtown, £27, 6*s*. 8*d*. each; Roxbury and Watertown, £20 each; Charlestown, Salem, and Sagus, £16 each; Medford, £10; Ipswich and Newbury, £8 each; Wessaguscus, £4. *Col. Records*, i, 152.

the *Griffin's* company, a certain uneasiness in respect to their situation; all the causes of which are somewhat difficult to trace, but which comes out in distinct indications in various documentary records, and which at last culminated in the removal of nearly the entire membership of the Church and population of the town to Hartford.

Some months after the induction of Hooker and Stone into office, the inhabitants of "Newtown complained [May, 1634] of straitness for want of land, especially meadow, and desired leave of the court to look out either for enlargement or removal."[26] Leave was granted, "whereupon they sent men to see Agawam and Merrimack, and gave out that they would remove." But apparently the Agawam and Merrimac reconnoisance was not satisfactory, for in July following they sent a pioneer party of six to Connecticut, "intending to remove their town thither."[27]

In September the matter came up again in the General Court. Governor Winthrop gives this account of it:[28] "September 4, the general court began at Newtown and continued a week, and then was adjourned fourteen days. Many things were there agitated and concluded, as fortifying in Castle Island, Dorchester, and Charlestown; also against tobacco, and costly apparel, and immodest fashions; and committees appointed for setting out the bounds of the towns; with divers other matters which do not appear upon record. But the main business, which spent the most time, and caused the adjourning of the court, was about the removal of Newtown. They had leave, the last general court, to look out some place for enlargement or removal, with promise of

[26] Winthrop, i, 157–159.
[27] *Ibid*, 162.
[28] *Ibid*, pp. 166–169.

having it confirmed to them, if it were not prejudicial to any other plantation; and now they move that they might have leave to remove to Connecticut. This matter was debated divers days, and many reasons alleged pro and con. The principal reasons for their removal were, 1. Their want of accommodation for their cattle, so as they were not able to maintain their ministers, nor could receive any more of their friends to help them; and here it was alleged by Mr. Hooker, as a fundamental error, that towns were set so near to each other. 2. The fruitfulness and commodiousness of Connecticut, and the danger of having it possessed by others, Dutch or English. 3. The strong bent of their spirits to move thither.

"Against this it was said, 1. That in point of conscience they ought not to depart from us, being knit to us in one body, and bound by oath to seek the welfare of this commonwealth. 2. That in point of State and civil policy we ought not to give them leave to depart, (1.) Being, we were now weak and in danger to be assailed. (2.) The departure of Mr. Hooker would not only draw many from us, but also divert other friends that would come to us. (3.) We should expose them to evident peril both from the Dutch (who made claim to the same river, and had already built a fort there) and from the Indians, and also from our own state at home, who would not endure that they should sit down without a patent in any place which our king lays claim unto. 3. They might be accommodated at home by some enlargement which other towns offered. 4. They might remove to Merrimack, or any other place within our patent. 5. The removing of a candlestick is a great judgment which is to be avoided.

"Upon these and other arguments the court being divided,

it was put to vote; and, of the deputies, fifteen were for their departure, and ten against it. The governor and two assistants were for it, and the deputy and all the rest of the assistants were against it (except the secretary, who gave no vote); whereupon no record was entered, because there were not six assistants in the vote, as the patent requires. Upon this grew great difference between the governor and assistants, and the deputies. They would not yield the assistants a negative voice, and the others (considering how dangerous it might be to the commonwealth, if they should not keep that strength to balance the greater number of the deputies) thought it safe to stand upon it. So, when they could proceed no farther, the whole court agreed to keep a day of humiliation to seek the Lord, which accordingly was done in all the congregations the 18th day of this month [September]; and the 24th the court met again. Before they began Mr. Cotton preached (being desired by all the court, upon Mr. Hooker's instant excuse of his unfitness for that occasion). He took his text out of Hag., ii, 4, etc., out of which he laid down the nature or strength (as he termed it) of the magistracy, ministry, and people, viz.: the strength of the magistracy to be their authority; of the people, their liberty; and of the ministry, their purity; and showed how all of these had a negative voice, etc.; and yet that the ultimate resolution, etc., ought to be in the whole body of the people, etc., with answer to all objections, and a declaration of the people's duty and right to maintain their true liberties against any unjust violence, etc., which gave great satisfaction to the company. And it pleased the Lord so to assist him, and to bless his own ordinances, that the affairs of the court went on cheerfully; and although all were not satisfied about the negative voice to be left to the magistrates, yet no man

moved aught about it, and the congregation of Newtown came and accepted of such enlargement as had formerly been offered them by Boston and Watertown; and so the fear of their removal to Connecticut was removed." It was on the occasion of this Court, and it affords an indication of the excitement of the parties in interest, that the very "reverend and godly" William Goodwin, the ruling "elder of the congregation at Newtown," was reproved for his "unreverend speech" in the open Court.

Things now seemed amicably adjusted. The enlargements embraced the territory now known as the towns of Brookline, Brighton, Newton, and Arlington. Making every allowance for the necessities of a hundred families, even of an agricultural and cattle-raising class, this territory certainly seems sufficient. The population now dwelling on the same soil is upward of seventy thousand. But they were not easy. "The strong bent of their spirits to remove" continued. Some cause deeper than any lack of ground in five townships to pasture the cattle of a few settlers, in the third year of their arrival, must have impelled to this restlessness.

This restlessness had a curious exemplification in one occurrence which happened in November after the amicable adjustment spoken of above. On the third of that month, John Pratt, a surgeon by occupation, and a member of the Newtown Church, was called up before the Court[29] to give an account of a letter he had written home to England, complaining of the rockiness and barrenness of the country.

Mr. Pratt apologized for his letter, saying, in the course of his apology: "first, I did not mean that which I said in respect to the whole country, or our whole patent in general, but only of that compass of ground wherein these towns are

[29] *Ibid*, p. 206.

so thick set together; and, secondly, I supposed that they intended so to remain, because (upon conference with divers) I found that men did think it unreasonable that they or any should remove or disperse into other parts of the country; and upon this ground I thought I could not subsist myself, nor the plantation, nor posterity. But I do acknowledge that since my letter [which had, apparently, been written a year or more before] there have been sundry places newly found out, as Neweberry, Concord, and others (and that within this patent) which will afford good means of subsistence for men and beasts, in which and other such-like new plantations, if the towns shall be fewer and the bounds larger than these are, I conceive they may live comfortably. The like I think of Coñecticott, with the plantations there now in hand, and what I conceive so sufficient for myself, I conceive so sufficient, also, for my posterity." Mr. Pratt goes on eating humble-pie at considerable length, protesting that "as for some grounds of my returning, which I concealed from my friends for fear of doing hurt, I meant only some particular occasions and apprehensions of mine own, not intending to lay any secret blemish upon the State."[30] The penitent culprit's apology for his letter was endorsed with a recommendation to favorable consideration by the three ministers, Peter Bulkley, John Wilson, and his own pastor, Mr. Hooker; and he was "pardoned his offence." But his references in his letter to the necessity, in looking out for a plantation, to have respect to the needs of his "posterity," were remembered. When he was drowned, twelve years afterwards, on his voyage back to England, Winthrop could not refrain from recording in his journal that "God took him away childless."[31]

[30] *Mass. Records*, i, 358–360.
[31] Winthrop, ii, 293.

Undoubtedly the land question had something to do with the removal,[32] but there must have been something beside. The "strong bent of their spirits" had some other cause also. What was it?

The historian Hubbard, writing within fifty years of these events, and while people still lived who were personally acquainted with the actors in them, says that other motives than deficiency of land did "more powerfully drive on the business", and were not, indeed, altogether concealed. "Some men," he continues, "do not well like, at least cannot well bear, to be opposed in their judgments and notions, and thence they were not unwilling to remove from under the power, as well as out of the bounds of the Massachusetts."[33] "Two such eminent stars, such as were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, both of the first magnitude, though of differing influence, could not well continue in one and the same orb."[34] Dr. Trumbull, in speaking of the death of Mr. Haynes, refers to the motives which, in part, induced the removal of the Newtown people to Connecticut, and inti-

[32] Johnson, in his *Wonder Working Providence*, writing within twenty years of the event, says, pp. 75-76: "The servants of Christ, who peopled the Towne of *Cambridge*, were put upon thoughts of removing, hearing of a very fertill place upon the River of *Canectico* low Land, and well stored with Meddow, which is greatly in esteeme with the people of *New England*, by reason the Winters are very long. This people seeing that Tillage went but little on, Resolved to remove and breed up store of Cattell, which were then at eight and twenty pound a Cow, or neare upon, but assuredly the Lord intended far greater matters than man purposes, but God disposes these men, having their hearts gone from the Lord, on which they were seated, soone tooke dislike at every little matter, the Plowable plaines were too dry and sandy for them, and the Rocky places, although more fruitfull, yet to eate their bread with toile of hand, and how they deemed it unsupportable. And therefore they onely waited now for a people of stronger Faith than themselves were to purchase their Houses and Land, which in conceipt they could no longer live upon, and accordingly they met with Chapmen, a people new come, who having bought their possessions, they highed them away to their new Plantation."

[33] Hubbard's *History of New England*, 306.

[34] *Ibid*, 173.

mates that considerations of the relative popularity of Haynes and Winthrop, and Cotton and Hooker, were not without influence. Mr. Haynes, he says,[35] "was not considered, in any respect, inferior to Governor Winthrop. His growing popularity, and the fame of Mr. Hooker, who as to strength of genius and his lively and powerful manner of preaching, rivalled Mr. Cotton, were supposed to have no small influence upon the General Court in their granting liberty to Mr. Hooker and his company to remove to Connecticut."

Some excellent writers on the life of Mr. Hooker have seemed quite unwilling to recognize in him, or to allow the existence in any of his associates, of any such feelings, uttered or unexpressed, as are suggested in these statements of Hubbard and Trumbull. But nothing could possibly be more natural, and few things are more probable. Nor is there anything about it for which to apologize.

The settlers of the Bay Colony were men of strong character and pronounced opinions. They came to the country, to a considerable extent in companies based on previous fellowships. They established themselves in townships, largely according to these pre-existing associations. The Newtown people, in especial, were men who had known one another and their Pastor in the old country. They came into the pre-existing community of the Bay with something of the character of a distinct body-corporate. Their after history in Connecticut showed that on certain points of administrative policy, their views were different from those of the managers of the Bay settlement. This difference manifested itself early. Hubbard says, "after Mr. Hooker's coming over, it was observed that many of the freemen grew

[35] *Trumbull*, vol. i, p. 216.

to be very jealous of their liberties." A somewhat different conception of the "authority of the magistrates" was distinctly developed at the Court of September, 1634, between the Newtown party and the party opposed to the removal. A sharp difference of opinion between Mr. Haynes and Governor Winthrop, as to administrative policy, found open and free expression in January of 1636, and had been taken cognizance of by all the ministers and magistrates, who had put themselves on one or the other side of the issue.[36] So that there is a very great probability that on political grounds Mr. Haynes, Mr. Goodwin, and the leading laymen of the Newtown settlement might have felt they would be more comfortable under an administration of their own, in some other quarter of the boundless new land.

Nor is it unlikely that the Pastor shared the feeling. Before he left England, overtures had been made by his friends, acting at Mr. Hooker's motion,[37] to secure Mr. Cotton as colleague with him in the proposed enterprise to America. The overture was declined. But on the arrival together in the new country of the two old acquaintances—and doubtless always two friends—the Colony seems to have been thrown into a kind of ferment as to the proper disposal of Mr. Cotton. Thirteen days after he landed, the Governor and Council and all the ministers and elders, were called together "to consider about Mr. Cotton, his sitting down."[38] Boston was fixed on as the "fittest place;" and it was at first agreed that payment for his weekly lectures should be out of the public treasury. This last resolve was presently revoked as being invidious in its discrimination, but it indicates the feeling of the time.

[36] Winthrop, i, 212.
[37] *Magnalia*, i, 393.
[38] Winthrop, i, 133.

Established thus, with the acclaim of magistracy and people, in the central point of ecclesiastical influence in the Colony, the great abilities and tireless versatility of Mr. Cotton pervaded everything. "Whatever he delivered in the pulpit was soon put into an Order of Court, if of a civil, or set up as a practice in the church, if of an ecclesiastical concernment."[39] On the critical occasion of the hearing before the Court, in September, 1634, of the great question of the removal—when Mr. Hooker somewhat unaccountably excused himself from preaching on the political issue raised by the Newtown proposal—Mr. Cotton's effort apparently settled the business adversely to the Newtown party.[40]

Add to these considerations, more or less of political and personal quality, some also of a theological kind, which soon began to manifest themselves. Mrs. Hutchinson arrived in September of the same year which saw the adverse determination of the Newtown plan for migration. And though the controversy which her peculiar views occasioned, did not develop into prominence till afterward, its earlier effects in separation of feelings and in bickerings in the brotherhood, part of whom adhered to Mr. Cotton in his earlier sympathy with Mrs. Hutchinson's notions, and part of whom agreed with Wilson and Hooker in opposing them, were already visible in 1635.

So that, on the whole, it is neither strange, nor at all discreditable, that the Newtown company should have thought themselves likely to be happier and more useful in some other settlement than that to which the Court had ordered them in 1632. Conscious of the possession of laymen as able as any in the Colony, and of a minister of as great, if of

[39] Hubbard's *New England*, p. 182.
[40] Winthrop, i, 168.

different, qualities as any other, their "strong bent" to remove, continued and finally prevailed.

Some of them apparently went to Connecticut before September, 1635, for on the 3d of that month William Westwood, of Newtown, was "sworn Constable of the plantations at Connecticut till some other be chosen."[41] Others soon followed.[42] These settlers of 1635 suffered immense hardship that winter along the banks of the great river, which froze over that season by the 15th of November. Famine and cold seemed to conspire against the enterprise. Cattle died. The people had to resort to acorns for food. Except for the succor afforded by the Indians many must have perished.[43]

But these hardships were not suffered to deter the main body of the Newtown pilgrims. When spring came again, the rest of the company were ready for flight.

Fortunately the arrival, the autumn previous, of a large number of emigrants in the Bay, and the gathering of a considerable part of them into a church relationship under the pastoral care of Rev. Thomas Shepard on the 1st of February, 1636,[44] enabled the Newtown people to sell their houses to the new comers. Indeed, this arrangement for the sale of the houses had apparently, to a great extent, been effected in the October previous;[45] and during the interval

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[41] *Mass. Col. Rec.*, i, 159.

[42] Winthrop, i, p. 204.

[43] Trumbull's *Connecticut*, vol. i, 62–63.

[44] Winthrop, i, 214.

[45] "When we had been here two days we came (being sent for by friends at Newtown,) to them, to my brother, Mr. Stone's house. And that congregation being upon their removal to Hartford, at Connecticut, myself and those that came with me found many houses empty, and many persons willing to sell; and hence our company bought off their houses to dwell in, until we should see another place fit to move unto. But having been here some time, divers of our brethren did desire to sit still, and not to remove farther." *Shepard's Autobiography.* Young's *Mass.*, p. 545.

Mr. Shepard and his company were resident at Newtown, and, as the town records show, were active in its affairs.[46]

On the 3d of March, 1636, John Steele and William Westwood, both of the Newtown company, were appointed among the eight commissioners empowered by Massachusetts to "govern the people at Connecticut."[47] These commissioners were either then in Connecticut or speedily after, as five of them, including Steele and Westwood, held a "corte att Newton [Hartford] 26 Apr. 1636."[48]

The thirty-first of May saw the emigrants on their journey. It is the season of the year in our New England climate when the billowy expanses of our forests burst into leaf, and each day marks a visible deepening of color and density in the landscape verdure. The streams run full with the newly melted snows of winter. The ground is spotted with the anemonæ and wild violet. In the marshy places glow the adder-tongue and the cowslip. The season is alive with promise, but the nights, though short, are damp and chill.

The Newtown pilgrims struck out into the pathless woods. Only a mile or two from their place of brief habitation, and they were in a wilderness which no sign of human life illuminated. There were hills to be climbed, and streams to be forded, and morasses to be crossed. Their guides were the compass and the northern star. Evening by evening they made camp, and slept guarded and sentineled by the blazing fires. One of their number, Mrs. Hooker, the Pastor's wife, was carried on a litter because of her infirmity. It was a picturesque but an anxious and arduous enterprise. Men and women of refinement and delicate breeding turned

[46] Paige's *Cambridge*, pp. 36–39.
[47] *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, I, Preface, iii, and *note*.
[48] *Ibid*, p. 1.

pioneers of untracked forests in search of a wilderness home. The lowing of a hundred and sixty cattle sounding through the forest aisles, not to mention the bleating of goats and the squealing of swine, summoned them to each morning's advance. The day began and ended with the voice of prayer and perhaps of song. At some point on their fortnight's journey a Sabbath must have intervened, when of course the camp remained still, and the people gathered under the green canopy of the waving trees to listen to the exhortations of their ministers, and to join in solemn supplication and exultant psalm. Their toilsome and devious way led them to near the mouth of the Chicopee, not far from where Springfield now stands. Thence down along the Connecticut was a comparatively straight and easy pathway. Meadow lands were in sight always. The wide, full river, flowing with a larger tide than now, and swollen with its northern snows, was crossed on rafts and rude-constructed boats, and on the soil where we now are, cheered by the sight of some pioneer attempts at habitation and settlement, made by those of their number who had come the season previous, the Ark of the First Church of Hartford rested, and the weary pilgrims who bore it hither stood still.[49]

[49] Tantalizing but uncertain rumors of the existence somewhere of a Diary of this wilderness journey have from time to time been heard. The rumor affirms that the diary records the encampment, the first night of their journey, at a "split rock" in Natick, which the present owner of a farm there believes he identifies. The rumor also has it that the names of those who took part in the daily services are recorded. Possibly such a record may be somewhere extant, and it may yet turn up to light. But its existence is only a matter of vague and questionable report. It would receive a welcome, should it appear.

CHAPTER V.

THE TRANSPLANTED CHURCH: EARLY DAYS.

The arrival of Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, and their companions, sometime in June, 1636, may be said to mark the establishment of Church institutions in Hartford. Some of the Newtown people, who came the year before, were active in the civil functions of the new Colony and new town, and a few transactions bearing date of 1635 and early in 1636, before the arrival of the Pastor's company, are witnesses to some kind of temporary township and colonial administration.

The entire disappearance of Church-Records prior to 1685, throws inquiry concerning ecclesiastical affairs, in the first fifty-two years, back upon the few meager notices to be gathered from the minutes of secular transactions. It is not the purpose of the present chronicle of the story of the First Church of Hartford to detail the history of the Colony or of the Town. These will be referred to only so far as they connect themselves with the story of the ecclesiastical institution whose experiences are being passed in review.

Who precisely of the Newtown company, besides Mr. Steele and Mr. Westwood, were on the ground prior to Mr. Hooker's coming; who came with Mr. Hooker, and whether all who did arrive in either company were members of the Church organization, it is impossible to tell. A record bearing date about 1639 gives a list of persons then resident in

town, who were divided into two classes, "proprietors of land" and "such inhabitants as were granted lotts to have onely at the towne's courtesie."[1] In the absence of certain evidence concerning the question of church-membership of some considerable portion of these individuals, the probability is that most or all of the first class were members of the Church, and that a considerable number of the second class were also.

Arrived upon the ground, one of the earliest transactions was the purchase of the land from the Indians. This seems to have been done in 1636, and Rev. Samuel Stone, the Teacher of the Hartford Church, and Mr. William Goodwin, its Ruling Elder, were the agents in the negotiation.[2]

The territory embraced in the purchase was about coincident with the territory subsequently known as the township of Hartford. The portion needed for the immediate uses of the little village to be established was parceled out into lots covering the older settled portions of this city.[3] These home lots averaged about two acres each; in the distribution of which those which fell to the portion of the Pastor, Teacher, and Ruling Elder were situated on what is now Arch Street, on the Little River; Mr. Goodwin's being on the corner of Main Street; Mr. Stone's next eastward; and Mr. Hooker's beyond Mr. Stone's. Dea. Andrew Warner's lot lay across the Little River, opposite Mr. Stone's; and Edward Steb-

[1] See Appendix I.

[2] The original deed or treaty was lost, and in 1670 the agreement was renewed and confirmed by a document signed by the heirs of "Sunckquassen, Sachem of Suckiage, *alias* Hartford." A previous purchase from Wopigwooit, the grand sachem of the Pequots, of a part of the same territory, a mile wide along the Connecticut, by the Dutch, who built a fort at the mouth of Little River in 1633, seems to have been wholly ignored. The price paid does not appear.

[3] See map, p. 88.

bin's—then, or soon after, Deacon—at the east of Meeting-house Yard; that is to say, from our present State House Square, north of State Street, down to Front. A considerable part of the territory lying outside the village limits was portioned out to the settlers in different amounts, according to the "proportions they payd for the purchass of sayd lands."[4] From time to time the town voted land to individuals in view of public services or private necessity. Every home-lot not improved within twelve months was to revert to the town.[5]

The central matter of interest in the place, from an ecclesiastical point of view, was of course the church edifice. This was situated on the Meeting-house Yard, a tract of territory covering the ground now known as State House Square, and of larger extent, the ground having been encroached upon afterward, both on the northern and southern sides. Here somewhere upon that portion now covered by the buildings of Central Row, it is supposed a temporary structure first afforded a meeting-place for public worship.

On April 5th, 1638, the General Court directed that "the costlets . . . . in the meeting-house of Harteford" should be put "in good kelter;"[6] and the town voted among its earliest requirements that there be a "guard of —— men to attend with their arms fixed, and 2 shote of powder and shott, at least, upon every publique meeting for religious use, with two seriants to oversee the same, and keepe out one of them sentinall every meeting." This structure was probably from the outset designed for transient use only, and was, in 1640 or 1641, given by the town to Mr. Hooker.

[4] *Town Record*, transcript by John Allyn in 1665.
[5] *Town Record* of early but uncertain date.
[6] *Col. Records*, vol. i, 17.

The structure which succeeded it, and which for about ninety-nine years served the purposes of this Church, was built upon the eastern side of the Meeting-house Yard, near the corner of the road leading down to the river, coinciding nearly enough with State Street. Mr. Wadsworth, in a note to the sermon at the dedication of the new church-edifice erected in 1739, on the site of the present First Church building, speaks of the first meeting-house as having been built in 1638. The explanation of the seeming improbability of the statement, and its reconciliation with the order of the Court about the corselets before spoken of, is doubtless to be found in the intentionally transient employment of the building which was first used as the place of religious gathering, and which, being disused, was given to the Pastor for a barn.[7]

Votes respecting this new house appear from time to time on the records. Probably it was begun in 1638, and not finished, perhaps, till 1641. In its process the town voted, October 20, 1640, that Goodman Post should clapboard the building, furnishing the clapboards himself at 5*s.* 6*d.* the hundred. Sometime in 1640 or 1641 the town voted "that a porch shall be built at the meeting-house, with stairs up into the chamber." Then on March 13th of the last mentioned year, the Townsmen for the time being, were empowered to "appoint the seats in the meeting-house."

Votes concerning a gallery in the meeting-house appear on the records at the different dates of February 3, 1645; February 11, 1661; February 17, 1665; and February, 1666. How

[7] The Stratford town records state that about the first of April, 1638, two Indians went with Rev. John Higginson, Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Goodwin to Hartford, and not long after there was a committee in Mr. Hooker's barn, "the meeting-house then not buylded." See notes by Mr. C. J. Hoadly, about Meeting-Houses of the First Ecclesiastical Society, published in appendix to sermon of Dr. Bacon, preached at a pastoral installation in the First Church, February 27, 1879.

many of these votes were carried into effect, or on how many sides the house was thus furnished with galleries it is impossible to say. "The pulpit was on the west side. The building was nearly square, with a hip roof, in the center of which was a turret where hung the bell, brought by the settlers, doubtless from Newtown, now Cambridge, and placed in the turret when the edifice was first erected. There was a door on the north side, perhaps also other doors, and near by a horse-block for the accommodation of those who lived so far off that they must ride. The chamber over the porch, perhaps served as the arsenal for town and colony, as a room in the south church did in later times. The windows were small, and the glass set in lead. Stairs from the interior lead up to galleries on the south and east sides,—that on the south being appropriated to the boys and unmarried young men, and frequent mention may be found of the appointment of persons to keep them in order during the time of religious services." [8]

The worshipers were seated by the public authorities according to their rank, men and women apart and on opposite sides. The Governor and Magistrate had official pews in eligible positions.

Not far from the meeting-house, on the same public square, were several other more or less prominent objects, the market, the jail, the stocks, and the whipping-post. Near by, too, was the first burial-ground. It lay on the northerly side

[8] Hoadly's *notes*. "The pulpit was furnished," Mr. H. says, in 1703, "with a plush cushion and a green cloth with a silk fringe and tassels." Probably no such finery was seen in it in Mr. Hooker's day. The same accurate antiquarian says: "The east side of the building required to be new shingled in 1660, and the south and west sides in 1667. The roof was ordered to be new covered with cedar shingles in 1687. There were new casements for the windows in 1699, and new ground sills, underpinning, and clapboards, and a new flooring of oak plank for the turret, were required in 1704–6."

of the meeting-house square, westward up toward the side of the present city building. The ground was formerly higher than now, and its leveling removed alike monuments and graves.[9]

But this spot was not long used for burial purposes. At a town meeting on the 11th of January, 1640, a vote was passed, taking part of the lot of Richard Olmsted for a burial-ground.[10] This is the ground in the rear of the First Church buildings on Main Street, where so many of Hartford's early dead still repose; but where the bones of some have been disturbed by the digging for the foundations of various edifices which have encroached upon the hallowed spot.

Hardly, however, could that preliminary church edifice have been reared, and that first burial place have been staked out, and the plain dwellings of the villagers been made habitable, before it became necessary for the settlers to fight for their homes and their lives. In February of 1637, several men were killed by the Indians at Saybrook.[11] A little later three men going down the river in a shallop were assailed and overpowered by the savages, and their bodies cut open and hung on the trees by the river side.[12] In April the Indians waylaid the people at Wethersfield, killing six men and three women, and carrying two girls away cap-

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[9] *Hartford in the Olden Time*, p. 79. It is said that many of the stones of this primitive and leveled burial-ground were used in the foundation of buildings on the north side of the square. Mr. James B. Hosmer, who died aged 97, in 1878, is said to have been accustomed to aver that his father often told him he had seen some of the old gravestones of this first burying-ground in the sub-structure of buildings spoken of.

[10] In March, 1640, a regulation concerning the depth of graves, and the price for digging them was adopted. None was to be less than four feet deep, for which the price was 2*s.* 6*d.*; none for any one above four years old, less than five feet, the price to be 3*s.*, and none for one over ten years, to be less than six feet deep, for which the rate was 3*s.* 6*d.*

[11] Winthrop, i, 253.

[12] Trumbull's *Hist.*, i, 76.

tives.[13] The outlook was alarming. Nearly thirty Connecticut dwellers had been killed; some of them with barbaric torture. A general combination of the Indian tribes for the extirpation of the white men seemed impending. A Court was gathered at Hartford—so called by public order for the first time in February previous, in honor it is said of Mr. Stone, who was born in Hartford, England—on the first of May, 1637, at which it was "ordered that there shalbe an offensive warr ag^t^ the Pequoitt."[14] Hartford was called on for forty-two men, Windsor for thirty, and Wethersfield for eighteen. Captain John Mason, of Windsor, commanded the little army, which started down the river in "one Pink, one Pinnace, and one Shallop."[15] Mr. Stone, Teacher of the Hartford Church, went with them as chaplain. And before they started, Mr. Hooker, the Pastor, made them an address in which he uttered the encouraging declaration "that the *Pequots* should be bread for them."[16]

Arrived at Saybrook, a division of opinion as to the prudence of going on in the enterprise arose, and the general judgment of the "Councill of Warr" was against advance. "Capt. Mason in this difficult Case" went to the chaplain "and desired him that he would that Night commend their Case and Difficultyes before the Lord." The chaplain did so, and having, apparently, arrived at the same view of the

[13] Winthrop, i, 260. For this Wethersfield assault there seems to have been a provocation. See *Lothrop's Cent. Sermon at West Springfield*, 1796, p. 23–24. "Sequin, a head man of the River Indians, gave lands on the river to the English that he might sit down by them, and be protected. But when he came to Wethersfield and set up his Wigwam the people drove him away by force. Resenting the Wrong, but wanting Strength to revenge it, he secretly drew in the Pequots, who came up the river and killed six men." Very probably had the Indians a historian, other provocations would have found record.

[14] *Col. Records*, vol. i, 11.

[15] Mason's *Brief History* in Mather's *Early History*, Drake's Ed., p. 121.

[16] *Ibid*, 156.

edible character of the Pequots which Mr. Hooker had entertained before the expedition left Hartford, told Capt. Mason in the morning, that "though formerly he had been against sailing to *Naraganset* and landing there, yet now he was fully satisfied to attend to it."[17] This settled the matter, and "they agreed all with one accord" to go on.

The story is a familiar one of the heroic attack, May 26th, on the Pequot fort, eight miles northeast of where now is New London—a "Fort or Palisade of well nigh an Acre of Ground, which was surrounded with Trees and half Trees, set into the Ground three feet deep, and fastened close to one another—"[18] and the surprise and slaughter of the Indians. It was a marvelously courageous and vigorously successful stroke, and permanently broke the Pequot power. Several hundred Indians of both sexes and all ages were killed by fire and sword in about an hour's time.[19] It was hardly a characteristic piece of church work; yet it is probable that the seventy men from these three towns, and the twenty men who joined them at Saybrook in place of twenty sent back from that point, were nearly to a man church-members, and the whole enterprise was backed by profound faith, not alone in its necessity, but its propriety. And in celebrating the victory, stout John Mason says: "It may not be amiss here also to remember Mr. Stone (the famous Teacher of the Church of *Hartford*,) who was sent to preach and pray with those who went out in those Engagements against the *Pequots*. He lent his best Assistance and Counsel in the Management of those Designs, and the Night in which the Engagement was, (in the morning of it) I say that Night he was with the Lord

[17] *Ibid*, 125.

[18] *Ibid*, 129, *note*, *Underhill's Statement.*

[19] *Ibid*, 136. Vincent sets the number at between three and four hundred; Mason at five or six hundred; Gardner at three hundred. *Note*, p. 136.

alone, wrestling with Him by Faith and Prayer, and surely his Prayers prevailed for a blessing; and in the very Time when our Israel was ingaging with the bloud-thirsty *Pequots*, he was in the Top of the Mount, and so held up his Hand, that Israel prevailed."[20]

This, done in self-defense and necessity, is all justifiable enough; but it a little revolts our feeling to find Mr. Ludlow and Mr. Pynchon and several others of the Colony carrying to Boston the skin and scalps of the vanquished "Sassacus and his brother and five other Pequot sachems, who being fled to the Mohawks for shelter . . . were by them surprised and slain."[21] Even in that hard age there was one man, Roger Williams, who said of it, "Those Dead Hands were no pleasing sight. . . . I have alwaies showne Dislike to such dismembering the Dead."[22] And when it is remembered that the very next spring following this slaughter of the Pequot tribe and conveyance of scalps and skins to Boston, the settlements along the river were saved from what threatened to be a fatal famine by the purchase "of so much Corn at reasonable Rates" of the Indians at Deerfield, "that the Indians brought down to Hartford and Windsor fifty Canoes laden with Corn at one Time,"[23] one wonders whether, even then, a better use might not have been made of the native proprietors of the soil than shooting and burning them.

This deliverance from so unexpected a quarter—together with the safe arrival of a vessel from Boston bringing Mr. Edward Hopkins and his company—was made a prominent topic of observation in the Thanksgiving Sermon, preached

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[20] *Ibid*, 157.
[21] *Winthrop*, i, 281.
[22] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxvi, 207.
[23] Drake's *Mather's Early New England*, p. 158.

by Mr. Hooker, on October 4th of this year, 1638, from the text, I Samuel, vii, 12: "Then Samuel took a stone, and set it up between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Ebenezer, saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us."[24] In the course of the sermon Mr. Hooker said:

"In all the creatures and helps that we have in this world, labor to go beyond them all, and to see God above and in them all. If time would give leave it were not unworthy your time to take some examples out of creatures, that you may see if God be taken from them what a misery there is. Therefore, there is nothing good, if there be not the mercy of God; and therefore see some good *more* in the creature, in all the help you receive from the creature, namely, God in it: as men use to do when they draw out the marrow out of the bone, and then they will leave the bone unto the dogs. Truly, this should be the wisdom, and it is the happiness of the saints of God. Wicked men have the creatures, but O, the marrow of the faithfulness and truth, that doth God dispense unto his! Be sure to look unto *that;* have thou *the God!* And take thou the God of wealth—leave thou the bone unto the covetous man. Take thou the God of honor—leave the bone unto the ambitious man. Have thou the God of pleasure,—and leave the bone unto the voluptuous man. This is the happiness of a godly man; to take God out of the creature and let not the creature come near his heart. . . . .

"It was a sad, sharp winter with us in these western parts, that many lost their lives, not only cattle, but men. But the Lord delivered us. Men concluded it, many affirmed it, never any vessel came to these parts; but the Lord brought it safe. Nay, if you had heard what a battle of men's tongues there was against it; why, the merchant that brought it, the

[24] The sermon was transcribed (possibly from Mr. Hooker's notes, and possibly from short-hand notes of his own) by Deacon Matthew Grant of Windsor; and a portion of it, copied from his painfully difficult manuscript by Dr. J. H. Trumbull, was published in the *Hartford Evening Press*, of Nov. 28, 1860, from which the extracts above are taken.

master that guided it, the passengers that freighted it, it was the LORD, brethren, that brought it, it was the LORD that guided it; and truly, had it not been for the Lord we might have perished. Yea, we might have perished for want; but the Lord sent us, as it were, drink out of the rock and meat from the ravens,—the Indians, that they should bring provision and leave it here; it was the Lord that brought it! That a company of poor men should with a boat fall upon such a place, and then prepare for others' coming,—it was the Lord that did it! If anything could have hindered, either by truth or falsehood, to keep men from coming to these parts hitherto, it had been done; but yet, notwithstanding, men's minds informed, their consciences convicted, their hearts persuaded to come and to plant. It is the Lord's doing, because his mercy endureth forever!

"The time unseasonable, the winter hard, the corn grown not,—we could not expect but that the hand of the Lord was gone out against us; and truly, it may be it was so. O, it was because the mercy of the Lord endureth forever, that the Lord hath preserved us,—against the malice of devils, the envy of men, and the perverseness of those which seemed to fear God. . . . . Let us, when we have seen the Lord in all,—the Lord in the sending of the ship and we not aware of it,—the Lord in bringing us safe, in giving us provisions, ... labour to have a heart more near unto Him, more endeared unto him. In all those dealings of His, every expression of God's providence, it should have a touch or a turn, as it were, upon the soul, to draw the heart toward him. Like as it is with a loadstone, if you apply it much and rub it long upon a loadstone,—as it is in the point of a compass,—it will turn north and stand north; and the deeper the impression is, the more nimbly it stirs itself, and the longer it stands northward. . . . . All outward comforts we should use as men when that they make a mount, it is to ascend higher; we should make a mound, and be nearer to God by these, that something of a heaven, of a God may come into our hearts. The younger bird, when she comes

out of her nest, every branch is a step to her, till she comes to the top. So, from step to step, let thy soul go, till it comes wholly unto God."

But not even the exigencies of war and threatened famine could divert the attention of those early planters of the churches in the wilderness from questions of theology. On the 5th of August, following the Pequot slaughter in May, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone arrived in Boston to attend an ecclesiastical Synod upon the difficulties which had arisen in the Bay Colony, and especially in the Boston church, by reason of the peculiar notions of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and her brother-in-law, Rev. Mr. Wheelwright. Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Pynchon, and others, who carried the Pequot skins and scalps with them, went also as delegates on the same business.

The trouble had begun a considerable time previous. Mrs. Hutchinson joined the Boston church on November 2, 1634. At that time some objection was made to the opinions she held and had expressed on the voyage over.[25] But, she seems to have had in that transaction, as well as in some other of her earlier procedures, the support of Mr. Cotton, who had stood in a pastoral relation to her in England. Her husband is described as being a suitable man for a strong-minded woman, "a man of very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife." She was soon followed to this country by her brother-in-law, John Wheelwright, whom it was speedily proposed to associate with Mr. Wilson and Mr. Cotton in the care of the Boston church; a project, however, which failed. Mrs. Hutchinson was a woman of kind heart, quick wits, and persuasive address. Her visitations of the sick, and ministrations, especially in the maternal exigencies of her sex, won for her the affection

[25] Hutchinson, ii, 488, 493–4.

and sympathy of many. She soon established a kind of weekly conference, or Bible-reading as it would now be called, at which she gathered a large number of women and unfolded her peculiar views, and criticised the ministers, with the exception of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright.

Her peculiar views, Winthrop says, were, "that the persón of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified one; that no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification."[26] The language is archaic in modern ears, but the idea is, that a kind of incarnation of the Holy Ghost exists in every Christian, and that every man's evidence that he is a Christian is an immediate perception of that fact, and not at all any improvement of his character. Mrs. Hutchinson's doctrine was that to look to any signs, like love of the truth or the transformation of the conduct, as tokens that a man was a saved man, was to be under a "covenant of works." The "covenant of grace" demanded that every Christian should know he was a saved man by an immediate intuition or disclosure of the fact.

These notions, as Winthrop says, had "many branches." They led out into exaggerated ideas of the possibility of present revelations, and into depreciated conceptions of the moral virtues. They prompted naturally to contemptuous estimates of the value of learning in religious matters, and to exalted claims to immediate inspiration. The seed fell into heated soil. The whole community was alive with the excitement. Some were intoxicated with the joys of personal assurance of salvation; some, wanting the declared indispensable illumination, were overwhelmed with despair. One woman of the Boston congregation, in particular, long troubled with doubts, was driven to distraction, and threw

[26] Winthrop, i, 239.

her child into a well, saying, "Now she was sure she should be damned."[27]

The partisans of Mrs. Hutchinson were cheered by the support of the young Governor, Henry Vane, and by the supposed sympathy of Mr. Cotton; and they rejoiced in proclaiming themselves the representatives of a peculiarly free and full gospel. They claimed that under the direct enlightenment of the Spirit, their women and unlettered men preached better than the "black coats" taught in the "Ninnyversity"—a designation whose feminine and Hutchinsonian origin it is impossible to question. The matter divided households, and entered into politics. The Hutchinson party looked coldly on the efforts to assist Connecticut in the Pequot war, alleging that the Massachusetts "officers and soldiers were too much under a covenant of works."

The churches of the entire Colony were turmoiled. That of Boston, in particular, was nearly rent asunder. The pastor, Mr. Wilson, supported by Mr. Winthrop and a few others, was on the one side; Mr. Cotton and the majority of the church on the other. A meeting of the Court in December, 1636, called together the ministers and elders to consider the troubles.[28] Mr. Wilson charged the difficulty on the spread of the new Hutchinsonian opinions. Whereupon, his church, led by Mr. Cotton, his associate, summoned him to answer for it publicly.[29]

A general fast was observed on the 19th of January, 1637, in view of the "dissension in the churches" and other evils.

Mr. Wheelwright took advantage of the occasion to censure the holders of anti-Hutchinsonian views as "Anti-Christs." The Court judged him to be guilty of sedition.

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[27] *Ibid*, i, 281.
[28] Winthrop, i, 248.
[29] *Ibid*, 250.

The Boston church tendered a petition in his behalf.[30] The excitement was so great it was determined to hold the next Court of Election away from Boston, at Newtown. At that next Assembly, which was on the 17th of May—just as the Massachusetts and Connecticut soldiers were drawing near to the Pequot encampment—matters came near to physical violence.[31] Mr. Wilson, the pastor of the Boston church, climbed a tree in the field where the voters were assembled, and addressed them from among the branches.[32] The whole question of officers for the Colony turned on the Hutchinsonian views. The result showed that the sympathizers, though many, were in a minority. Governor Vane lost his election, and soon returned to England.

His defeat and departure removed one strong pillar of the delusion. Cooler counsels began to prevail. A day of humiliation was appointed in the churches for the 24th of July. So that, by the coming of August, matters were in a better condition for deliberate consideration. In April previous, Mr. Hooker had written to Mr. Shepard of Newtown —who in the October following was to become his son-in-law —advising against a Council on the Hutchinsonian matters.[33] But either he had changed his views, or the state of things had changed, for we have seen that he and Mr. Stone and the delegates arrived in Boston on the 5th of August.[34] The time, till August 30th, was spent in preliminary consultations, and the 24th was observed as a day of fasting and prayer.[34]

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[30] *Ibid*, 258.
[31] *Ibid*, 262.
[32] Hutchinson, i, 61, *note*.
[33] Hutchinson, i, 68.
[34] Winthrop, i, 282.

The Synod opened its sessions on the 30th of August. It was composed of all the teaching elders in the country, about twenty-five in number, and delegates from the churches. Mr. Shepard opened the session with a "heavenly prayer." Rev. Peter Bulkley, of Concord, and Mr. Hooker, of Hartford, were chosen Moderators. The sessions continued twenty-two days. As a result of the deliberations, a list of eighty-two opinions, more or less intimately connected with the recent controversy, were condemned as, "some blasphemous, others erroneous, and all unsafe."[35]

It was further resolved, with special reference to Mrs.

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[35] Winthrop, i, 284. Some of these condemned opinions are curious enough, and some, though phrased in antique style, are applicable enough to modern times to justify a reproduction of a few of them here.

"4. That those that bee in Christ are not under the law and commands of the Word, as the rule of life."

"20. That to call in question whether God be my deare Father, after or upon the commission of some hainous sinnes (as murther, incest, etc.), doth prove a man to be in the covenant of works."

"36. All the activity of a beleever is to act to sinne."

"39. The due search and knowledge of the Holy Scripture is not a safe and sure way of finding Christ."

"40. There is a testimony of the Spirit, and voyce unto the soule, meerely immediate, without any respect unto or concurrence with the Word."

"43. The Spirit acts most in the saints when they indevour least."

"47. The seale of the Spirit is limited onely to the immediate witnesse of the Spirit, and doth never witnesse to any worke of grace, or to any conclusion by a syllogisme."

"56. A man is not effectually converted till he hath full assurance."

"57. To take delight in the holy service of God is to go a whoring from God."

"62. It is a dangerous thing to close with Christ in a promise."

"64. A man must take no notice of his sinne, nor of his repentance for his sinne."

"70. Frequency or length of holy duties, or trouble of conscience for neglect thereof, are all signes of one under a covenant of workes."

"72. It is a fundamentall and soule-damning errour to make sanctification an evidence of justification."

"77. Sanctification is so farre from evidencing a good estate, that it darkens it rather; and a man may more clearely see Christ when he seeth no sanctification than when he doth; the darker my sanctification is, the brighter is my justification."

Hutchinson's Bible-reading meetings, that though females, meeting "some few together" for prayer and edification might be allowed, yet that "a set assembly where sixty or more did meet every week, and one woman took upon her the whole exercise," was "disorderly and without rule."[36]

The Assembly broke up on the 22d of September, and on the following 26th, Mr. Davenport, afterward of New Haven, preached by its appointment a sermon of gratulation and good counsel. The expenses of the delegates at Newtown and in travel from Connecticut were paid at the Colonial charge.[37] And so Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone had chance to go back to Hartford, after more than two months absence, during which time, doubtless, Ruling-Elder Goodwin had "exercised by way of prophesy" in their place.

Poor Mrs. Hutchinson, the enthusiastic, kind-hearted, pious, and very erroneous cause of all these disturbances, was soon after called before the Court for continuing her "disorderly" meetings and promulgating her condemned opinions. She was, awhile, committed to Mr. Cotton's care to be reasoned with by him and Mr. Davenport; but when was ever woman so convinced? With her sex's ability to turn a sharp corner, not to say to prevaricate, she said sometimes one thing and sometimes another. So that on the 15th May, 1638, she was excommunicated from the church for "impenitently persisting in a manifest lye," and on the 28th, was banished from the Colony.[38] The exiled woman, whom the eye of modern sympathy follows with regret, soon after became a widow; moved to the Dutch frontier; and was, about six years later, with all her children but one of eight years, killed by the Indians. Her views were exaggerated

[36] Winthrop, i, p. 286.
[37] *Ibid*, 288.
[38] *Ibid*, 310–311.

and false, and her procedures, in the condition of the times, exasperating and probably dangerous, but it may be hoped and believed that Heaven was wide enough for her after all.

Returned to Hartford, the Pastor and Teacher doubtless took their due share in the stirring interests of the town and Colony. It was in the spring after this return that the first steps for the new meeting-house, before spoken of, to take the place of the temporary structure they now used, were set forward. The same year, 1638, witnessed the preliminary proceedings, very imperfectly recorded, of one of the most interesting events in all civil history—the establishment of a written constitution for the government of the Colony; the "first written constitution," it has been called, "in the history of nations."[39]

The common affairs of these towns along the River had at first been conducted by a provisional government under Massachusetts authority. But the term of that commission having expired, a General Court of the towns took its place. At some time in 1638 a General Court was elected for the purpose of framing a body of laws for the permanent government of the Colony. The deliberations of the assembly thus chosen have perished. We know only the result, which arrived at the authority of Fundamental Laws on the 14th of January, 1639.[40]

That charter of public rule was a document far in advance of anything the world had ever seen, in its recognition of the origin of all civil authority as derived, under God, from the agreement and covenant of the whole body of the governed. Such a "Combination and Confederation together . . . to be guided and governed according to such

[39] Bacon's *General Conference Address*, p. 150.
[40] *Col. Records*, i, p. 25.

Lawes, Rules, Orders, and decrees as shall be made, ordered & decreed,"[41] marks a reckoning point in the history and science of government.[42]

But the chief interest in this matter, so far as the present chronicle is concerned, is not a scientific one, or even a historic one, reckoned from the point of the concerns of civil administration only. The interest of the subject, as connected with this Church survey, now in hand, is two fold: It is, first, that the form of civil government here established was simply an extension to the domain of secular affairs of the principles already adopted in religious matters — the mutual covenant and agreement of those associated, as under God the ultimate law. And, second, and more particularly, because of the agency in leading on to the establishment of

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[41] *Ibid*, p. 21.

[42] Too much, however, must not be inferred from this statement. The "whole body of the governed" was not understood to include all sorts of men. The General Court, in August, 1657, passed the following order: "This Court being duly sencible of the danger this Comonwealth is in of being poisoned in their iudgm^t & principles by some loathsome Heretickes, whether Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, or some others like them, It is ordered and decreed that noe Towne or person therein w^thin this Jurisdiction shall give any vnnecessary entertainm^t to any of the aforesaid knowne hereticks, vpon penalty of five pounds for each Hereticque enterteined, to bee paid by that inhabitant which gieus such entertainment to them or either of them, & fiue pounds a weeke for each Hereticke, to bee paid by each Towne that shall suffer the entertainm^t of any such Hereticks, as also 5*l.* a person that shall vnnecessarily speake more or lesse w^th any of the aforesaid Hereticks, except the Magistrate, Assistants, Eld^rs or Constable in this Jurisdiction; all w^ch fines to bee paid to the publicke Treasury. Also, it is ordered, that any Magistrate, Assistant or Constable, in each plantation vpon any suspicion of any person to bee such an Hereticke, shall, with the helpe of their Eld^r or Eld^rs in each plantation examine the said suspected person or persons, & if vpon examination hee or they judge any to bee such Heretickes, the said Magistrate, Assistants or Constable shall forthw^th send them to prizon, or out of this Jurisdiction." *Col. Rec.*, p. 303, vol. i. The modern idea of toleration of religious dissent must not be looked for too early. The union of Church and State was as complete in early New England as it was in Old England. The type of ecclesiastic rule was altered, but the State was looked to, to back up the new type as efficiently as in the home land it had the old. Hence "Heretiques" had no recognized place in the "Combination and Confederation."

this principle in the Fundamental Laws of this Colony, of the wise and far-sighted Pastor of this Church. We are indebted for the discovery of definite evidence of this agency —though it might have been antecedently conjectured from all that we know of the man who exercised it—to the skill and research of the distinguished antiquarian scholar, J. H. Trumbull.[43] The evidence lay undiscovered more than two and a quarter centuries in a little, almost undecipherable volume of manuscript, written by a young man—Mr. Henry Wolcott, jr., born January, 1610—in the neighbor town of Windsor. The volume contains notes in cipher of sermons and lectures preached by Rev. Messrs. Warham and Huit of Windsor, and Rev. Messrs. Hooker and Stone of Hartford. In it is found an abstract of Mr. Hooker's lecture given on "Thursday, May 31, 1638, at an adjourned session, probably of the April Court; and apparently designed to lead the way to the general recognition of the great truths which were soon to be successfully incorporated in the Fundamental Laws."[44] The following is the deciphered abstract of the sermon:

Text: Deut. i, 13. "Take you wise men, and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you." Captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds—over fifties—over tens, etc.

Doctrine. I. That the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance.

II. The privilege of election which belongs unto the people, therefore, must not be exercised according to their humors, but according to the blessed will and law of God.

III. They who have power to appoint officers and magis-

[43] See Dr. Trumbull's account of the matter. *Conn. Historical Soc. Col.*, vol. i, 19.

[44] *Ibid*, pp. 19, 20.

trates, it is in their power, also, to set the bounds of the power and place unto which they call them.

Reasons. 1. Because the foundation of authority is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people.

2. Because, by a free choice the hearts of the people will be more inclined to the love of the persons [chosen], and more ready to yield [obedience].

3. Because of that duty and engagement of the people.

Uses. The lesson taught is threefold:—

1st. There is matter of thankful acknowledgment in the [appreciation] of God's faithfulness towards us and the permission of these measures that God doth commend and vouchsafe.

2dly. Of reproof—to dash the conceits of all those that shall oppose it.

3dly. Of exhortation—to persuade us as God hath given us liberty, to *take* it.

And lastly. As God hath spared our lives, and given us them in liberty, so to seek the guidance of God, and to choose *in* God and *for* God.[45]

The doctrine was adapted to the auditors and to the time. It was harmonious with the experiences and the teachings of Providence in which the hearers had been led. But its statement was a novelty in politics, not the less. Dr. Bacon says of it: "That sermon by Thomas Hooker from the pulpit of the First Church in Hartford, is the earliest known suggestion of a fundamental law, enacted not by royal charter, nor by concession from any previously existing government, but by the people themselves — a primary and supreme law by which the government is constituted, and which not only provides for the free choice of magistrates by the people, but also 'sets the bounds and limitations of the power and place to which' each magistrate is called."[46]

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[45] *Ibid*, pp. 20–21.

[46] *Centennial Conference Address*, pp. 152–153.

Eight months later, the fundamental laws embodying these principles for the first time in human history, were "sentenced, ordered, and decreed." It is impossible not to recognize the Master hand. The Pastor of the Hartford Church was Connecticut's great Legislator, also.

In the May following the adoption of this Constitution by Connecticut, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Haynes,[47] the Governor of the Colony, were in Boston, on the business of securing a treaty of confederation with Massachusetts; remaining there "near a month."[48] It was during this visit to the Bay that this curious incident occurred, which is recorded by Winthrop: "Mr. Hooker being to preach at Cambridge, the governour [Winthrop] and many others went to hear him, (though the governour did very seldom go from his own congregation upon the Lord's Day). He preached in the afternoon, and having gone on, with much strength of voice and intention of spirit, about a quarter of an hour, he was at a stand, and told the people that God had deprived him both of his strength and matter, etc., and so went forth, and about half an hour after returned again, and went on to very good purpose about two hours."[49]

The same year, 1639, saw the organization of the church at New Haven, on the 22d of August. Tradition has it that at the subsequent induction of Mr. Davenport as pastor, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone were present as representatives of the Hartford church, and took part in the services.[50]

[47] John Haynes came to New England in the *Griffin*, with Mr. Hooker. He had a residence at Copford Hall, in Essex, England, and was a man of large wealth. He was chosen Governor of Massachusetts in 1635. He came to Connecticut in 1637. After the organization of the government in 1639, under the Fundamental Laws, he was chosen governor, and was chosen every alternate year afterwards till his death, in 1653.

[48] Winthrop, i, 360.

[49] *Ibid*, 366.

[50] Trumbull, i, 285.

In the paucity of personal incidents recoverable in these early days, it may not be amiss to notice that in 1641 Mr. Stone, the Teacher, brought home from Boston with him a wife, dismissed by letter to this church from the church there, on the 25th of July.[51] In view of which exigent experience on the Teacher's part it was, probably, that the town voted, at about that time, that "there shall be five pounds added to Mr. Stone for this half year."[52] So, too, there came this year into the membership of this church the only person, probably, ever connected with it who popularly wore a title of English rank—Lady Fenwick, as she is called.[53] She brought her young child with her for baptism, and found her premature grave, four years after, at Saybrook.[54]

A little later than this appears on the public records of the Colony[55] one of the earliest of those instances of the

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[51] *Boston First Church Records:* "Mrs. Elizabeth Stone, formerly called Mrs. Eliza Allen, but now the wife of Mr. Samuel Stone, the teacher of the Church of Hartford, in Conn., was granted letters of recommendation thither." This lady was the ancestress of several present members of the First Church in Hartford. Mr. Stone had been married before; his first wife dying in 1640 (see Mr. Hooker's letter to Shepard, of Nov. 2, 1640), having, as Mr. Hooker says, "smoaked out her days in the darkness of melancholy." Who she was, or what she suffered beyond this sad memorial, or whether she came with Mr. Stone from England, as is probable, is matter of conjecture.

[52] *Town Records.*

[53] *Lechford's Plaine Dealing*, Trumbull's Ed., p. 98. Mrs. George Fenwick was the daughter of Sir Edward Apsley, and had been the widow of Sir John Boteler. And so, as wife of Mr. George Fenwick, she, by a quite liberal courtesy, was called Lady Fenwick. She so appears in local traditions, and her monument at Saybrook is looked on with a certain romance from the popular designation. See Dr. J. H. Trumbull's address at the re-interment of Lady Fenwick's remains. *Hist. Mag.*, vol. xix, p. 151.

[54] She joined the Hartford church because none was then in existence at Saybrook. One was founded there in 1646, and Mr. James Fitch, who had studied divinity with Mr. Hooker, was made Pastor. The tradition is that, though Mr. Hooker was present, ordination was given by laying on the hands of two or three of the brethren designated by the church for the purpose. *Trumbull*, i, 286.

[55] *Col. Records*, vol. i, pp. 106, 111.

interference of the civil government with the ecclesiastical procedures of churches, so foreign to our present view of the appropriate boundaries of the jurisdiction of each, but which we shall have occasion to see were so characteristic of Connecticut's history for more than a hundred years.

Mathew Allyn, a prominent inhabitant and an original settler, petitioned the General Court, June 3, 1644, against the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by the Church at Hartford. The nature of Mr. Allyn's offence does not appear, but it seems not to have forfeited him the good esteem of his townsmen, who elected him many following years to public trusts. Nevertheless the Court judged that in so petitioning against the Church Mr. Allyn "layd an accusation vppon the Church" which he was bound to prove, and called on him to do so. He had not done so by the 25th of October following, whereupon the Court reiterated its demand for proof, and summoned him to answer for his contempt, in neglecting the previous order.[56] How Mr. Allyn succeeded in settling his difficulties does not appear.

This efficient backing up of church-discipline by the civil government was, however, a significant illustration of the vague views of the founders as to that principle of separation of Church and State, which has become elementary in modern thought in this country.

Meantime events were moving on in England. The Parliament, known as the Long Parliament, was in session. Laud, who had been the chief agent in driving out of the old country a considerable portion of the ministers in New England, was put in prison in 1641. The issue between King and Parliament was made. One or the other was to break.

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[56] *Ibid*, 106, 111.

The ecclesiastical constitution of things, disordered by the conflicting judgments of the various parties in religious affairs, was sorely in need of healing. Presbyterianism, Independency, and Episcopalianism were forms of ecclesiastical rule, vigorously contended for, though with very unequal numerical following. In this state of things a General Assembly was ordered by Parliament,[57] and, being contemplated, the American exiles were not forgotten. A letter from the Earl of Warwick, Lord Say and Seal, Oliver Cromwell, and some thirty-seven other members of Parliament, "who stood for the independency of the churches," was sent to New England, inviting Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Davenport to "assist in the Synod."[58] Mr. Cotton and Mr. Davenport were inclined to go. Mr. Hooker discerned the relative numerical weakness of the Independent party in England, and with characteristic sagacity thought it unwise "to go 3,000 miles to agree with three men (meaning those ministers who were for independency.)"[59] Other letters, arriving soon after, advised against the coming, and the matter fell through, justifying the wisdom of Mr. Hooker's first opinion.

This Assembly, which has passed into history as the Westminster Assembly, was preponderantly Presbyterian, and the Presbyterian party grew stronger as the Assembly advanced.

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[57] As early as 1641 the London ministers proposed to Parliament the calling of an Assembly, and in December, 1641, the Commons mentioned it among the complaints in their Grand Remonstrance. A bill was passed for the purpose, October 15, 1642, but failed for want of the Royal assent. The final order for it, without the King's concurrence, was June 12, 1643. The King, by proclamation, forbade the meeting, and threatened to deprive of their livings those who disobeyed. This substantially prevented the "loyal" portion of the Episcopalians from attending. The Assembly met July 1, 1643, and closed February 22, 1649, holding, in all, eleven hundred and sixty-three sessions.

[58] Winthrop, ii, 91–92.

[59] The "three men" in the Assembly "who stood for independency" were, in fact, five from the outset, Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge, and Sydrach Simpson. As the sessions went on their numbers doubled. But they were in a hopeless minority.

This was not without its effect over here in New England. It gave new vigor and encouragement to a few ministers in the Massachusetts Colony, whose views were in accordance with that form of polity, more than with the "Congregational way" around them. The two admirable ministers of the church in Newbury, Mass.—Thomas Parker, the pastor, and James Noyes, the teacher—strongly sympathized with most of the Presbyterian principles, and did not scruple to preach their opinions.

Fearful of the spread of dissensions, which had already arisen in the Newbury Church,[60] it was deemed best to hold a Synod at Cambridge to emphasize the Congregational principles. The Synod met in September 1643, and was composed of "all the elders in the country," about fifty in number. Here again, as in the Synod of 1637, Mr. Hooker was one of the two moderators. His associate at this time was Mr. Cotton. The members sat in "the college, and had their diet there after the manner of scholars' commons, but somewhat better, yet so ordered that it came not above sixpence the meal for a person. . . . . The assembly concluded against some parts of the presbyterial way, and the Newbury ministers took time to consider the arguments."[61]

But apparently the conclusions arrived at were not comprehensive enough or deliberate enough to be regarded as satisfactory. The party of Presbyterianism in the Westminster Assembly, still in session, was growing; Parliament was obviously moving on to the adoption of Presbyterianism as the established religion of England; and there was danger

[60] Coffin's *History of Newbury*, pp. 72, 115.

[61] Winthrop, ii, 165. The "Newbury ministers" were not convinced, as is shown in the pamphlet published by Mr. Noyes some years afterward, entitled "*The Temple Measured*;" a Presbyterian treatise save in the matter of ruling elders, who are not recognized as "distinct officers in the churches."

that if so established it would be imposed by authority on New England as well. It was time to come to a definite agreement against such a not improbable event.

A meeting[62] was convened at Cambridge, July 1, 1645, at which it was agreed to send over to England for publication and reading there, certain treatises in defence of the "Congregational way," and against the "Presbyterial," which had been written by several of the New England ministers, in reply to Presbyterian documents sent from England here. Among these books were Davenport's answer to Paget, known as the *Power of Congregational Churches*, and Mr. Hooker's *Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline*, in reply to Rutherford's *Due Right of Presbyteries*."

These books had a curious history. They were sent in a vessel which sailed from New Haven, in January 1646, with many passengers, and which was never heard from afterward, save in that spectral phantom of a ship which, two years and five months later, appeared sailing into New Haven harbor, and then, in the sight of a crowd of witnesses, vanished into smoke. A vision which John Davenport declared God had given for the quieting of the afflicted spirits of those who wondered where the lost vessel, and its precious conveyance of lives, had gone.[63]

Convinced of the loss of the manuscripts, the two authors, Davenport and Hooker, re-wrote them—though Hooker his with great reluctance—and they were again sent over and published; Hooker's, however, not till after his death.

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[62] Winthrop's account of this meeting (ii, 304) says "the elders of the churches through all the United Colonies agreed upon a meeting at Cambridge this day, when they conferred their councils, and examined the writings which some of them had prepared . . . . which, being agreed and perfected, were sent over into England to be printed."

[63] Bacon's *Historical Discourses*, p. 107.

By May, 1646, the danger of a subversion of the ecclesiastical usages of the Colonies seemed so imminent that the Court of Massachusetts moved for a General Synod "to discusse, dispute & cleare up by the word of God, such questions of Church governm^t & discipline," as had been before spoken of, and others "as they shall thinke needful & meete;" and invited the ministers and churches of "Plimoth, Connecticott & Newe-Haven," on the same terms of "lib^rty & pow^r of disputing and voting" as the Massachusetts ministers and messengers.[64] The proposition was received with general acceptance; though with demurrer on the part of the Boston and Salem churches, and some others, as a trespass of the civil authority upon the ecclesiastical domain.[65] But most of them finally gave adhesion, and the 1st of September found all but four of the Massachusetts churches, and a considerable number of those from the other Colonies, in session at Cambridge, in what is now called, by way of preëminence, the Cambridge Synod; the best remembered of all the early New England assemblies, and from which the well-known Platform of Church Polity receives its name.

Mr. Hooker, however, was not there. His colleague, Mr. Stone, was present, and Dea. Edward Stebbins, whom Mr. Hooker calls "my cousin Stebbings"; but the Pastor was absent. He had written to his son-in-law, Shepard, the month before, "My yeares and infirmityes grow so fast vpon me, y^t wholly disenable me to so long a journey; and because I cannot come myself, I provoke as many elders as I can to lend their help and presence. The Lord Christ be in the midest among you by his guidance and blessing."[66]

[64] *Mass. Col. Rec.*, ii, 155.
[65] Winthrop, ii, 329–332.
[66] Felt, *Eccl. Hist.*, i, 613.

Mr. Hooker had made the journey from Hartford to Boston and back, on public business, certainly three times, and probably four or more.[67] It was still a roadless wilderness, to be traversed only on horseback; with a nightly encampment on the ground, under the open skies, by the way. It is not strange that, interested though he was in the Synod, he shrank from the repeated pilgrimages.

The assembly continued in session, at this time, only a fortnight. It appointed three of its members to draw up a Scriptural Model of Church Government, and adjourned till June 8th of the following year, 1647.

Regathered at that date, it was almost immediately forced to adjourn again[68] by reason of an "epidemical sickness" which prevailed over the whole country, "among Indians and English, French and Dutch."[69]

The blow fell hard, here in Hartford. Many of the citizens of the town died of it. But its most shining mark was the Pastor of the Church. Mr. Winthrop, in the simple, noble language of his diary, records: "That which made the stroke more sensible and grievous, both to them [of Connecticut] and to all the country was the death of that faithful servant of the Lord, Mr. Thomas Hooker, pastor of the church in Hartford, who, for piety, prudence, wisdom, zeal, learning, and what else might make him serviceable in the

[67] In August, 1637; in May, 1639; in September, 1643; and, probably, July, 1645. See *Winthrop*, i, 281, 360; ii, 165 and 304.

[68] It re-assembled August 15, 1648, and adopted, after a fortnight's deliberation, substantially, the draft of a Platform presented by Rev. Richard Mather. The result of the synod was next year "presented to the Churches and Generall Court for their acceptance and consideration in the Lord." In October, 1649, the Court commended it "to the judicyous and pious consideracon of the seuerall churches." The principles of this Cambridge Platform are, or ought to be, so well known among Congregationalists, as not to need explanation here.

[69] Winthrop says about this distemper (ii, 378): "It took them like a cold, and a light fever with it. Such as bled or used cooling drinks, died; those who took comfortable things, for the most part, recovered, and that in a few days."

place and time he lived in, might be compared with men of greatest note; and he shall need no other praise: the fruits of his labors in both Englands shall preserve an honorable and happy remembrance of him forever."[70] The wise and eloquent eulogy needs no amplification.

Mr. Stone arrived home from the dispersed Synod in season to see his associate die. He already "looked like a dying man," Mr. Stone writes to Shepard, but he had said to Mr. Goodwin that "his peace was made in heaven and had continued 30 years without alteration."[71]

To one weeping by his bedside who said to him, "Sir, you are going to receive the reward of all your labors," he replied, "*Brother, I am going to receive mercy.*" "He closed his eyes with his own hands, and gently stroking his own forehead, with a smile in his countenance, . . . expired his blessed soul into the arms of his *fellow servants*, the *holy angels*, on July 7, 1647."[72]

His age was sixty-one years. He died, it is said, on the anniversary of his birth. He made a Will the day he died, in which he left directions for the guidance of his household, and for the custody and publication of his manuscripts; entrusting his "beloved friends, Mr. Edward Hopkins and Mr. William Goodwyn," with the care of the "education and dispose" of his children and of the management of his estate.[73] His mortal part lies mouldered to dust just back of this church edifice.[74] His soul is with the just, and his memory is that of one of the best and greatest of men.

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[70] *Ibid.*

[71] Letter dated July 19, 1647. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 4, viii, 544.

[72] *Magnalia*, i, 317.

[73] See *Appendix* II, for Mr. Hooker's Will and Inventory of Estate.

[74] The monument which is supposed to mark the burial place of Rev. Mr. Hooker in the burying-ground back of the First Church, was put in its present position in 1818. At that time the slab now resting on the four upright posts

As is natural, the death of so eminent a leader of the little commonwealth prompted the remembrance by survivors of portents and supernatural tokens of it. The event occurred in the midseason of a pestilential summer, when languor and oppression in the probably crowded and ill-ventilated precincts of the small meeting-house might have been expected. But looking back upon it, "some of his most observant hearers observed an astonishing sort of *cloud* in his congregation, the last Lord's day of his publick ministry, when he also administered the Lord's Supper among them; and a most unaccountable heaviness and sleepiness, even in the *most watchful Christians* of the place, not unlike the drowsiness of the disciples when our Lord was going to die; for which one of the elders publickly rebuked them. When those devout people afterwards perceived that this was the last sermon and sacrament wherein they were to have the presence of the *pastor* with them, 'tis inexpressible how much they bewailed their unattentiveness unto his *farewell dispensations;* and some of them could enjoy no peace in their own souls until they had obtained leave of the elders to confess before the whole congregation, with many tears, that inadvertency." [75]

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was lying unmarked upon the ground; either never having had an inscription, or the inscription (an improbable suggestion) having been worn away. As the result of a motion of Mr. Seth Terry, in Society meeting, Dec. 22, 1817, the stone was raised, inscribed, and placed as it now is. The inscription was written by Mr. Terry, and the antique style of spelling and lettering was imitated from the monument to Mr. Stone, the Teacher of the Church, next beside it.

Mr. Stone, in his letter to Shepard, giving account of his colleague's death, wrote: "If I have the whole winter, you may think whether it may not be comely for you & myself & some other Elders to make a few verses for Mr. Hooker & inscribe them in the beginning of his book, as if they had been his funeral verses. I do but propound it." This design was fulfilled with more good will than poetic fire. See *Appendix* III, for these metrical memorials.

[75] *Magnalia*, i, 317.

Whether this last Sabbath and Sacramental service was July 4th or June 27th, it is perhaps impossible to determine. Mr. Hooker's death occurred on Wednesday, July 7th, "a little before sunne-set," which throws the weight of probability in favor of the earlier Sunday, especially as there does not appear to have been any established usage connecting Sacramental services with the first Sunday of the month such as now obtains.[76]

But whether Mr. Hooker preached his last sermon on July 4th or June 27th, he preached one on June 20th, at Windsor, of which notes remain in the writing of Deacon Matthew Grant, of that place, and which consequently was delivered on the last Sunday but one or the last Sunday but two before he died. Deacon Grant records, at the end of the notes, "Mr. Hooker was burried 18 days after he preached this sermon." And although the notes are manifestly imperfect, and inadequately represent the thoughts of the preacher, still, as standing in such interesting proximity to his departure, and as having never before been published they will be given in the later pages of this volume.[77]

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[76] The usage of the Windsor Church at this time brought Sacramental days quite as often on other Sundays than the first of the month, as on that one.

[77] Deacon Matthew Grant's volume is in the possession of Dr. J. H. Trumbull, and the copy of the notes (together with the comments thereon) found in *Appendix* IV, has been kindly furnished by him.

CHAPTER VI.

THOMAS HOOKER'S WRITINGS.

Books, numbering some thirty titles, are extant of Mr. Hooker's published writings. Yet he was not to any great extent of set purpose an author of books. Most of his volumes are collections of discourses on experimental religion, whose first and main use was in the oral delivery, and whose object was the immediately practical one of impressing, convincing, and persuading the hearers of his voice.

Some of these series of discourses were printed from notes taken down by short-hand writers who listened to him during his Chelmsford Lectureship, or perhaps still earlier at Emmanuel; and even of others, concerning which we have the assurance[1] that they are "as they were penned under his own hand," or "printed from his own papers, written with his own hand," we have no token of editorial revision by himself, and little of any intention in their composition that they should be printed at all. All his books—unless *The Poore Doubting Christian* be a possible exception—being published in England, either during his exile in Holland, his residence in America, or after his death, he saw none of them "through the press"; and though authorizing the issue of some of them,[2] imparted to none the advantage

[1] See Goodwin and Nye's preface and the publisher's announcement to the *Comment upon Christ's Last Prayer* and *The Application of Redemption*.

[2] As, *e. g.*, *The Equall Wayes of God* (1632), to which he wrote a prefatory address, signed "T. H."

of an author's customary review of the printed page. One of them—*The Saints Dignitie and Dutie*, published in 1651—was compiled by his son-in-law, Thomas Shepard; two or three others—as *A Comment upon Christ's Last Prayer*,[3] published in 1656, and *The Application of Redemption*, published in 1659—were issued under the prefatory supervision of Revs. Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye; and some, perhaps, may have been printed from copies of Mr. Hooker's discourses made by Rev. John Higginson of Guilford, who is said [4] to have "transcribed from his manuscripts near two hundred of these excellent sermons, which were sent over into England that they might be published; but by what means I know not, scarce half of them have seen the light unto this day." [5]

Several of the volumes are anonymous, a fact itself suggestive of a surreptitious possession and use of the materials of which they were compiled.

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[3] The publication of this volume—*A Comment upon Christ's Last Prayer*—seems to have been more distinctly prepared for by Mr. Hooker than almost any other volume, except his *Survey*. In his Will, signed upon his death-bed, he leaves to the benefit of his wife the advantage of "whatever manuscripts shall bee judged meete to be printed." But that the manuscript of this special series of discourses was already determined on as one thus "judged meete," appears from the will of Mr. John Whiting, who, dying in the same epidemical sickness as Mr. Hooker, in 1647, had in the first draft of his will, made in March, 1643, provided "to have 20*l.* paid vnto Mr. Hooker, toward the furtherance of setting forth for the benefitt of the church his worke uppon the 17th of John, with any else hee doth intend." See *Col. Records*, vol. i, 493.

[4] *Magnalia*, i, 315.

[5] Prof. Moses Coit Tyler, in his *History of American Literature* (vol. i, 194) tells this amazing story about the fate of some of Mr. Hooker's manuscripts: "In 1830, one hundred and eighty-three years after Hooker's death, the old parsonage at Hartford was torn down, and in it were found large quantities of manuscripts, supposed to have been his. What they were we know not. They may have contained letters, diaries, and other invaluable personal and historical memoranda; but there happened to be no one then in the city which Hooker founded, to give shelter to these venerable treasures, and to save them from the doom of being thrown into the Connecticut River."

But though there is some small diversity in the details of style and finish, such as this variety of manner in the appearance of the volumes would suggest, the family likeness is unmistakable. They obviously came, whatever verbal blemish may attach to any of them, from the same mind and pen.

The one exception to the general rule which assigns Mr. Hooker's books to a primary purpose of oral address to his hearers, and only an incidental or even unconsidered one toward their readers, is his *Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline*. And all the facts concerning this book serve to show that authorship, as such, had no attraction for him.

The *Survey* was first written, rather reluctantly and under much "strength of importunity,"[6] at the suggestion of others, to be published in England for the counteraction there of the growing party of Presbyterianism. Mr. Hooker himself was with difficulty drawn to the service, looking on it "as somewhat unsuitable to a Pastor, whose head, and heart, and hands were full of the imploiments of his proper place."[7]

And when the first draft of the volume was lost in the sea, "if he might have enjoyed the liberty of his own judgment and desires" he would have left what he had written to be "buried in everlasting silence." Being "overborn," however, he wrote the treatise anew, "though before the transcribing, he was translated to be ever with the Lord."[8]

He wrote a Preface to the volume which may well be taken to express his views concerning the style of all his writings.

In it he says, "That the discourse comes forth in such a homely dresse, and course habit, the reader must be desired to consider, it comes *out of the wildernesse*, where curiosity

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[6] *Epistle to the Reader*, prefatory to the *Survey*.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

is not studied. Planters if they can provide cloth to go warm they leave the cutts and lace to those that study to go fine.

"As it is beyond my skill, so I professe it is beyond my care to please the nicenesse of men's palates, with any quaintnesse of language. They who covet more sauce then meat, they must provide cooks to their minde. . . . . The substance and solidity of the frame is that which pleaseth the builder; its the painter's work to provide varnish."

This disclaimer is in Hooker's genuine style. It is itself an illustration of that union of vigor and vivacity which made his utterance in the pulpit so arrestive of the most wandering or antagonistic attention, and which makes the faded pages of his printed books frequently so pungent and picturesque.

The stories told of Hooker's preaching are striking. One is of the presence at one of his Chelmsford lectures of some boon companions led by a man, who, for "ungodly diversion and merriment, said unto his companions, *Come, let us go hear what that bawling* Hooker *will say*." "The man had not been long in the church before the *quick and powerful word of God*, in the mouth of his faithful *Hooker*, pierced the soul of him; he came out with an awakened and distressed soul, and by the further blessing of God on Mr. *Hooker's* ministry, he arrived unto a true *conversion*." Another is an incident of his preaching in the "great Church of *Leicester*," ten miles west of his humble birth-place at Marfield, and while still his parents were living there. One of the town burgesses set a company of fiddlers to playing in the churchyard. But the fiddlers could neither drown the preacher nor draw away the hearers. Whereupon the burgess went to the church-door to hear what it was that so enchained the congregation. But getting once within sound of that voice, and the reach of the barbed arrows of utterance shot from the preacher's lips, himself fell down wounded, and "became

indeed so penitent a convert, as to be at length a sincere *professor* and *practicer* of the godliness whereof he had been a *persecutor*." [9]

The reader of Hooker's volumes will easily credit these stories. Tradition has it, that he was in person majestic and in utterance commanding and persuasive; but these graces were not essential to one who could put things into the sharp, vivacious, and infinitely various utterance of these discourses.

As to the mass of these writings, they are — laying aside the *Survey* — essentially on one theme. They are a body, not of doctrinal, but of experimental divinity. They relate, as has been said,[10] to the "*Application of Redemption;* and that which eminently fitted him for the handling of those principles, was, that he had been from his youth trained up in the experience of those *humiliations* and *consolations* and sacred *communions* which belong to the new creature." The discourses are stated [11] to have been, and it is inherently probable that they were, the result of repeated preachings and lecturings upon the experimental aspects of religion, first at Cambridge, where he lectured at Emmanuel; afterward at Chelmsford, and subsequently in America. He went over the ground again and again, and with marvelous minuteness and fullness of detail. His volumes are thus — when collected in their organic relationship — a development of what he conceived the soul's way of seeking, finding, and enjoying Christ. Their titles, whether his own or given by others, indicate distinctly this recognized purpose running through them. *The Soules Preparation for Christ, The Soules Hu-*

[9] *Magnalia*, i, 306–7.

[10] *Magnalia*, i, 314.

[11] *Ibid*, 315. See also Goodwin and Nye's prefatory letter to the *Application of Redemption.*

miliation, The Soules Vocation or Effectual Calling, The Soules Iustification, The Soules Implantation, The Soules Vnion with Christ, The Soules Benefit from Vnion with Christ, The Saints Dignitie and Dutie, — these, among others, show clearly the track along which he moved.

It is the line of thought followed by the pastor rather than the theologian. The robustest system of theology is everywhere implied and incidentally expressed in these discourses, but the statement of a system of theology is in none of them, or in all of them, an aim. The aim is the persuasion of men. And to this purpose the preacher brings a fecundity of mind, a power of spiritual anatomy, an amplitude and variousness of illustration, and an energy of utterance which are absolutely marvelous. Especially striking is this wonderfulness of resource in analyzing the moral phenomena antecedent to, and attendant on conversion. To most modern readers, the proportion of consideration will seem excessive which Mr. Hooker gives to the experiences of the soul in mere "preparation" for conversion. He has volumes on these antecedent exercises of the spirit before it gets to the point of trust in Christ. He laid himself open, even while he lived, to the remark of the shrewd Rev. Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, Mass., "Mr. Hooker, you make as good Christians before men are in Christ as ever they are after; would I were but as good a Christian now, as you make men while they are but preparing for Christ."[12]

Mr. Hooker's course in this respect was perhaps somewhat extreme, even for his time. But in those days of recoil from the outward ceremonial religion in which the Papacy had so long held men, the inward facts of personal experience were made the subject of the profoundest scrutiny and dis-

[12] Giles Firmin's *Real Christian*, p. 19.

section. Especially all the subterfuges and windings of the human spirit in recoil from the stern presentations of the sovereignty and righteousness of God, were followed with microscopic acuteness of observation and loving pitilessness of exposure. Conversion was a great thing and a difficult thing. It was "not a little mercy that would serve the turne; . . . the Lord will make all crack before thou shalt finde mercy."[13] Mr. Hooker's son-in-law, the saintly Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, put the matter thus, in his *Sincere Convert*: "*Jesus Christ* is not got with a wet finger. . . It is a tough work, a wonderfull hard matter to be saved;"[14] and again, "'Tis a thousand to one if ever thou bee one of that small number whom God hath picked out to escape this wrath to come."[15]

Holding these views of the immense difficulty of saving conversion, and the measureless liability of men to deception about it, together with the infinite misery of failing in the enterprise, it is not strange that the whole process of the spiritual work should have been tried as by fire. As specimens of this kind of endeavor, Hooker's writings are unsurpassed. Of this feature of his teachings, as well as of others which will give us some more general view of his spirit and method as a preacher, we shall get the best conception from some quotations from his books. No attempt will here be made either to enforce or to refute any of the sentiments quoted. The only purpose of making these extracts is to bring the man before us as he was, and as he expressed himself. The comparative rarity of his books, together with the transcendent place he holds in the history of this Church, will justify somewhat extended transcription of the utterances

[13] Hooker, *Soules Preparation* (1632), pp. 9–10.
[14] Shepard's *Sincere Convert* (1646), p. 150.
[15] *Ibid*, 98.

which used to awe and thrill, alarm and comfort the first generation of its members.

In the *Soules Preparation for Christ*, he is arguing on the necessity of a clear view of a man's sinfulness, and says:

"First, it is not every sight of sinne will serve the turne, nor every apprehension of a mans vilenesse; but it must have these two properties in it. First, he must see sinne clearly; second, convictingly. First, hee that will see sinne clearly must see it truly and fully, and be able to fadome the compasse of his corruptions, and to dive into the depths of the wretchedness of his vile heart; otherwise it wil befall a a mans sinne as it doth the wound of a mans body: When a man lookes into the wound only, and doth not search it to the bottome, it begins to fester and rancle, and so in the end he is slaine by it; so it is with most sinners; Wee carry all away with this; Wee are sinners; and such ordinary confessions; but we never see the depth of the wound of sinne, and so are slaine by our sinnes. It is not a generall, slight, and confused sight of sinne that will serve the turne; it is not enough to say: It is my infirmity; and I cannot amend it; and Wee are all sinners; and so forth. No; this is the ground why wee mistake our evils and reforme not our wayes, because we have a slight and overly sight of sinne. A man must prove his wayes as the goldsmith doth his gold, in the fire; a man must search narrowly and have much light to see what the vilenesse of his own heart is, and to see what his sinnes are that doe procure the wrath of God against him. . . . . We must looke on the nature of sinne in the venome of it, the deadly hurtfull nature that it hath for plagues and miseries it doth procure our soules; and that you may doe, partly if you compare it with other things, and, partly if you looke at it in regard of yourselves: First, compare sinne with those things that are most fearefull and horrible; as suppose any soule here present were to behold the damned in hell, and if the Lord should give thee a little peepe-hole into hell, that thou didst see the horror of those damned soules, and

thy heart begin to shake in the consideration thereof; then propound this to thy owne heart: What paines the damned in hell doe endure for sin, and thy heart will quake and shake at it; the least sinne that ever thou didst commit, though thou makest a light matter of it, is a greater evill than the paines of the damned in hell, setting aside their sinne; all the torments in hell are not so great an evil as the least sin is. Men begin to shrink at this, and to loathe to goe down to hell and to be in endless torments." [16]

But such a thorough sight of sin is needful to a thorough work of grace; for:

"Many have gone a great way in the worke of humiliation, and yet, because it never went through to the quicke, they have gone backe againe and become as vile as ever they were. I have known men that the Lord hath layed a heavie burthen upon them, and awakened their consciences, and driven them to a desperate extremity, and yet, after much anguish and many resolutions, and the prizing of Christ, as they conceived, and after the renouncing of all, to take Christ upon his owne termes as they imagined; and even these when they have bin eased and refreshed, and God hath taken off the trouble, they have come to be as crosse to God and all goodnesse, and as full of hatred to Gods children as ever, and worse too.

Now, why did these fall away? Why were they never justified and sanctified? And why did they never come to beleeve in the Lord Jesus? The reason is, because their hearts were never pierced for their sinne, they were never kindly loosened from it. This is the meaning of that place in *Ier.: Plow up the fallow grounds of your hearts, and sowe not among thornes;* it is nothing else, but with sound, saving sorrow to have the heart pierced with the terrours of the Law seising upon it, and the vilenesse of sin wounding the conscience because of it. The heart of man is compared to fallow ground that is unfruitfull: You must not sow amongst

[16] *Soules Preparation* (1632), pp. 12–14.

thornes and thistles; first, plow it, and lay it bare and naked, and then cast in your seed. If a man plow here a furrow and there a furrow, and leave here and there a bawke, hee is never like to have a good crop; there will grow so many thistles, and so much grasse, that it will choake the seed: our hearts are this ground; and our corruptions are these thorns and thistles. Now, if a man be content to finde some sinne hatefull, because it is shamefull, but will keepe here a lust and there a lust, hee will never make any good husbandry of his heart; though a faithful Minister should sow all the grace of the promises in his soule, he would never get any good by them, but the corruptions that remaine in the heart will hinder the saving worke thereof.

"Therefore plow up all, and by sound, saving sorrow, labour to have thy heart burthened for sinne, and estranged from it, and this is good husbandry indeed. . . . . If you would have your hearts such as God may take delight in and accept, you must have them broken and contrite. . . . . A contrite heart is that which is powdered all to dust, as the *Prophet* saith, *Thou bringest us to dust, and then thou sayest, Returne againe y^e^ sonnes of men.* So the heart must be broken all in pieces to powder, and the union of sinne must be broken, and it must be content to be weaned from all sinne; As you may make any thing of the hardest flint that is broken all to dust, so it is with the heart that is thus fitted and fashioned; If there be any corruption that the heart lingers after, it will hinder the worke of preparation; If a man cut off all from a branch save one sliver; that will make it grow still, that it cannot be engrafted into another stock; So though a man's corrupt heart depart from many sinnes and scandalous abominations; yet if he keepe the love of any one sinne, it will be his destruction; as many a man after horrour of heart hath had a love after some base lust or other, and is held by it so fast, that hee can never bee ingrafted into the Lord Jesus. This one lust may breake his neck and send him downe to hell. So then, if the soule only can be fitted for Christ by sound sorrow, then this must

needes pierce the heart before Christ can come there; but the heart cannot bee fitted for Christ without this, and therefore of necessity the heart must be truly wounded with sorrow for sin." [17]

And there is a great liability to self-deception about this matter.

"O doe not cozen your owne soules; it is not the teares of the eye, but the blood of the heart that your sinnes must cost, and if you come not to this, never thinke that your sorrow is good. . . . . Now if all be true that I have said, there are but few sorrowers for sinne, therefore few saved; here wee see the ground and reason why many fly off from Godlinesse and Christianity; This is the cause, their soules were onely troubled with a little hellish sorrow, but their hearts were never kindly grieved for their sinnes. If a mans arme be broken and disjoynted a little, it may grow together againe; But if it be quite broken off it cannot grow together; So the terrour of the Law affrighted his conscience, and a powerfull Minister unjoynted his soule, and the Judgments of God were rending of him; but he was never cut off altogether; and therefore he returnes as vile, & as base, if not worse than before, & grows more firmly to his corruptions. It is with a mans conversion as in some mens ditching, they doe not pull up all the trees by the roots, but plash them; so when you come to have your corruptions cut off, you plash them, and doe not wound your hearts kindly, and you doe not make your soules feele the burthen of sin truly; this will make a man grow and flourish still howsoever, more cunningly and subtilly. . . . . Looke as it is with a womans conception, those birthes that are hasty, the children are either still borne, or the woman most commonly dies; so doe not thou thinke to fall upon the promise presently. Indeed you cannot fall upon it too soone upon good grounds; but it is impossible, that ever a full soule or a haughty heart should beleeve, thou mayest be deceived, but thou canst not be engrafted into

[17] *Ibia*, pp. 150–151

Christ ; therefore when God begins to worke, never rest till you come to a full measure of this brokennesse of heart. Oh follow the blow, and labour to make this worke sound and good unto the bottom."[18]

But one test and measure of this soundness, inculcated by Hooker, may, perhaps, occasion surprise. It is that test of true conversion which in our New England theology is commonly connected with the name of Dr. Hopkins of Newport —that a Christian should be willing to be damned if it be God's will. Cotton Mather—a man whose generosity of nature has not been duly acknowledged—tries to defend Mr. Hooker from the imputation of teaching this doctrine, on the ground that the publication of Mr. Hooker's writings was to a great extent "without his consent or knowledge ; whereby his notions came to be deformedly misrepresented in multitudes of passages, among which I will suppose that crude passage which Mr. *Giles Firmin*, in his *Real Christian*, so well confutes, *That if the soul be rightly humbled, it is content to bear the state of damnation.*"[19] The defence is well meant, but it is idle. The Hopkinsian doctrine of contentment in being damned was taught nearly a century and a half before Hopkins, by Hooker and his son-in-law Shepard, with the utmost distinctness. It is not by any supposition of incorrect short-hand reporting that the tenet can be got out of Hooker's *Humiliation* or Shepard's *Sincere Convert*. The doctrine is logically and rhetorically woven into the texture of both treatises. It appears and reappears in them. It is prepared for, led up to, stated,

[18] *Ibid*, pp. 182, 187.

[19] *Magnalia*, i, 315. Cotton Mather followed his father, *Increase*, in this attempted explanation of the obnoxious passages in Mr. Hooker's writings on this subject. See Increase Mather's prefatory letter to Solomon Stoddard's *Guide to Christ*, dated November, 1714.

enforced, and objections to it answered. There is no accidental and inconsiderate slipping into its utterance. It is accepted with full intelligence, and with clear recognition of its obnoxiousness and its difficulty to the average experience.

Pages might be quoted from Shepard in proof of this statement, but attention here must be confined to Hooker's teachings on the subject.

The preacher is well aware he is dealing with a hard point:

"Now I come to this last passage in this worke of Humiliation, and this is the dead lift of all. The Prodigall doth not stand it out with his Father and say, I am now come againe, if I may have halfe the rule in the Family I am content to live with you. No, though hee would not stay there before, now hee cannot be kept out, hee is content to bee anything. . . . . Lord (saith he) show me mercy and I am content to be and to suffer any thing. So from hence the *Doctrine* is this: *The Soule that is truly humbled is content to be disposed of by the Almightie as it pleaseth him.*

"The main pitch of this point lyes in the word content. This phrase is a higher pitch then the former of submission; and this is plaine by this example. Take a debtor who hath used all meanes to avoyd the creditor: in the end he seeeth that hee cannot avoyd the suit, and to beare it hee is not able. Therefore the onely way is to come in, and yield himselfe into his creditor's handes; where there is nothing, and the King must loose his right; so the debtor yields himselfe; but suppose the creditor should use him hardly, exact the uttermost, and throw him into prison; Now to bee content to under-goe the hardest dealing, it is a hard matter: this is a further degree than the offering himselfe. So, when the Soule hath offered himselfe, and he seeth that Gods writs are out against him, and his Conscience (the Lords Serjeant) is coming to serve a *subpœna* on him, and it is not able to avoyd it, nor to beare it when he comes, therefore he submits himselfe and saith, Lord whither shall I goe, thy

anger is heavy and unavoydable; Nay, whatsoever God requires, the Soule layes his hande upon his mouth, and goes away contented and well satisfied, and it hath nothing to say against the Lord. This is the nature of the Doctrine in hand: and for the better opening of it let me discover three things. . . . . For howsoever the Lords worke is secret in other ordinary things, yet all the Soules that ever came to Christ, and that ever shall come to Christ, must have this worke upon them; and it is impossible that faith should be in the Soule; except this worke bee there first, to make way for faith."[20] . . . .

"Thirdly. Hence the Soule comes to be quiet and framable under the heavy hand of God in that helplesse condition wherein hee is; so that the Soule having beene thus framed aforehand, it comes to this, that it takes the blow and lies under the burthen, and goes away quietly and patiently, and saith not a word more. Oh! this is a heart worth gold. He accounts God's dealing and God's way to be the fittest and most seasonable of all. Oh! (saith he) it is fit that God should glorifie himselfe though I be damned forever, for I deserve the worst."[21] . . . .

"Now see this blessed frame of heart in these three particulars. First, the Soule is content that mercy will deny what it will to the Soule, and the Soule is content and calmed with what mercy denyes. If the Lord will not heare his prayers, and if the Lord will cast him away, because he hath cast away the Lord's kindnesse, and if the Lord will leave him in that miserable and damnable condition, which he hast brought himself into by the stubbornesse of his heart, the Soule is quiet. Though I confesse it is harsh and tedious, and long it is ere the Soule be thus framed, yet the heart truly abased is content to beare the estate of damnation; because he hath brought this misery and damnation upon himselfe."[22]

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[20] *Soules Humiliation*, (Ed. 1638,) pp. 98–100.

[21] *Ibid*, pp. 106–107.

[22] *Ibid*, 112.

"But, some may here object and say, Must the Soule, can the Soule, or ought it to be thus content to be left in this damnable condition? For the answer hereof, know, that this contentedness implies two things. . . . . Secondly, it implies a calmnesse of Soule, not murmuring against the Lord's dispensation towards him. . . . . And thus we ought to be contented with whatsoever mercy shall deny, because wee are not worthy of any favour; and the humble Soule reasons thus with it selfe, and saith, my owne sinne, and my abominations have brought me into this damnable condition wherein I am, & I have neglected that mercy which might have brought me from it, therefore why should I murmur against mercy, though it deny me mercy? . . . . . Marke this well. He that is not willing to acknowledge the freenesse of the course of mercy, is not worthy, nay, hee is not fit to receive any mercy: but that Soule which is not content that mercy deny him what it will, he doth not give way to the freenesse of the Lords grace and mercy, and therefore that Soule is not fit for mercy."[23]

"But some may object. Can a man feele this frame of heart, to be content that mercy should leave him in hell? Doe the Saints of God find this? And can any man know this in his heart?

To this I answer. Many of God's servants have been driven to this, and have attained to it, and have laid open the simplicitie of their Soules in being content with this."[24]

"The Soule that is thus contented to be at Gods disposing, it is ever improving all meanes and helpes that may bring him nearer to God, but if mercy shall deny it, the soul is satisfied and rests well apaid; this every Soule that is truly humbled may have, and hath in some measure."[25]

But this submission and humiliation of the soul is a work no man can accomplish for himself:

[23] *Ibid*, pp. 113–115.
[24] *Ibid*, p. 115.
[25] *Ibid*, p. 114.

For, "this union that is betweene the soule and its corruptions is marveilous strong and firme, nay so strong and firme that there is no meanes under heaven, no creature in the world that is able to breake this union, and dissolve this combination that is betweene sinne and the soule, unless the Lord by his Almighty power come and break this concord and conspiracy that is betweene sinne and the soule, against himselfe and the glory of his name; and for the truth hereof observe this, all outward meanes are too scant, too narrow, too short to break the union betweene sinne and the soule; as it is with the body of a man if there were a great and old distemper in a mans stomacke, if a man should put a rich doublet upon him and lay him in a Featherbed, and use all other outward meanes, this would doe him noe good, because the disease is within, and is become, as it were, another nature in him, it is an old distemper that hath eaten into his very bowels, and therefore all outward meanes cannot make a separation betweene the disease and the body, because the disease being inward they cannot come neare it. Just so it is with the soule of a man; a mans heart will have his sinne; there is an inward combination betweene the soule and sinne; now all meanes, as the Word, and the like is outward, and can doe no good in this kind, they cannot break the union betweene a mans heart and his corruptions unless the Lord by his Almighty power and infinite wisedom make a separation betweene sinne and the soule, and dissolve this union. The soule saith, I will have my sinne, and I will have my life, and I will have my God, though I die for it; there is a strong league made betweene the heart of a sinner and his lusts, and therefore all outward meanes cannot possibly break this league: looke as it is with a strong stomack, if you give it any ordinary meate the strength of the stomacke is above the meate, and turnes the meate into the nature of itself, so it is with a corrupt heart that hath made a league with his lusts, all outward meanes and ordinances of God, a corrupt heart converts them and turnes them aside to his everlasting destruction; the instrumentall cause is alwayes

under the principall; the soul of a man is a soveraigne commander; this way all outward meanes are but instrumental muses, [*sic*] and the heart of a man is above them, and therefore they may as well harden a man as soften his heart and humble his soule; a man can receive no good thereby unless it please God to overpower this distemper that is in a man, and breake the neare union and firme league that is betweene sinne and the soule."[26]

But God sometimes interposes to afford this indispensable aid. Not always, indeed, for God's purpose does not always go to the extent of this saving work.

"The Lord deales diversely as hee seeth fit; specially these three wayes.

First, if God have a purpose to civilize a man, he will lay his sorrow as a fetter upon him; he onely meanes to civilize him, and knocke off his fingers from base courses as we have knowne some in our dayes; God casts this sorrow into their hearts and then they say they will persecute Gods people no more; haply they are naught still, but God confines them: first, God only rips the skinne a little and layeth some small blow upon him; but if a man have been a rude and great ryoter the Lord begins to serve a Writ upon him . . . . so that now the soule seeth the flashes of hell, and Gods wrath upon the soule, and the terrours of hell lay hold upon the heart, and he confesseth hee is so, and hee hath done so, and therefore he is a poore damned creature, and then the soule labours to welter it, and it may be his conscience will bee deluded by some carnall Minister that makes the way broader than it is, ... or else it may be hee stops the mouth of conscience with some outward performances, ... and he will pray in his family, & heare sermons, & take up some good courses, & thus he takes up a quiet civill course, and stayeth here awhile, and at last comes to nothing; and thus God leaves him in the lurch, if he meanes onely to civilize him.

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[26] *The Vnbeleevers Preparing for Christ* (1638), pp. 138–140.

But secondly, if God intends to doe good to a man, he will not let him goe thus, and fall to a civile course. . . . . If God love a sinner, and meane to doe good to him; hee will not let him looke off his sinne; the Lord will ferret him from his denne, and from his base courses and practices: He will be with you in all your stealing and pilfering, and in all your cursed devices, if you belong to him hee will not give you over. . . . . Now the soule is beyond all shift; when it is day hee wisheth it were night, and when it isnight hee wisheth it were day; the wrath of God followeth him withersoever he goeth, and the soule would faine be rid of this, but hee cannot; and yet all the while the soule is not heavy and sorrowful for sinne: hee is burdened, and could be content to throw away the punishment and horror of sin, but not the sweet of sinne: as it is with a child that takes a live coale in his hand thinking to play with it, when hee feels fire in it hee throwes it away: hee doth not throw it away because it is black but because it burnes him: So it is here: A sinful wretch will throw away his sinne because of the wrath of God that is due to him for it, and the drunkard will be drunke no more; but if hee might have his queanes and his pots without any punishment or trouble, hee would have them with all his heart; hee loves the black and sweet of sinne well enough, but he loves not the plague of sinne. . . . .

"Now in the third place, if the Lord purpose to doe good to the soule, hee will not suffer him to be quiet here, but hee openeth the eye of the soule further; and makes him sorrow, not because it is a great and shamefull sinne, but the Lord saith to the soule: Even the least sinne makes a separation between mee and thee; and the heart begins to reason thus: Lord, is this true? is this the smart of sinne? and is this the vile nature of sinne? O Lord! how odious are these abominations that cause this evill; and though they had not caused this evill, yet this is worse than the evill, that they make a separation betweene God and my soule. Good Lord why was I borne?" [27]

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[27] *The Soules Preparation*, (1632), pp. 131–136.

So that if God really intends to save a man, he does not stop with any "Morall and externall drawing"—

"For this will not doe it, this is only an outward drawing; but when the Lord is pleased to put a new power into the soule of a sinner, and withall to carry the will to the object propounded that it may embrace it; when God is pleased, not only to offer good things to the soule but to enable the soule to lay hold upon the things offered; not only to offer Christ and his salvation, but to work effectually upon the heart, and make it able to give entertainment to Christ, then the Lord is said to draw a sinner to himselfe. . . . . I express it thus, looke as it is with the wheele of a clock, or the wheele of a Jack that is turned aside, and by some contrary poyse set the wrong way. He now that will set this wheele right must take away the contrary poyse, and then put the wheele the right way; and yet the wheele doth not goe all this while of itself, but first there is a stopping of the wheele and a taking away of the poyse: and secondly the wheele must be turned the right way; and all this while the wheele is only a sufferer; so it is with the soule of a man, the heart of a man, and the will of a man, and the affections of a man; they are the wheeles of the soules of men; the Lord Jesus made them at the first to runne to heaven-ward and to God-ward, but when *Adam* sinned, then the poyse of corruptions prevailed so farre forth over them, that they drew the heart, the mind, the will of man from God, and made it runne the wrong way to the divell-ward and to hell-ward; now when the Lord cometh to set these wheeles aright; he must take away the poyse and plummet that made them runne the wrong way; that is, the Lord by his almighty power must overpower those sinnes and corruptions which harbour in the soule. . . . . and then the frame of the soule will be to God-ward, it will be in a right frame and order, it will runne the right way, and all this while the will is only a sufferer, and this I take to be the meaning of the text; That God by a kind of holy violence, rendeth the soule of a poore sinner, and withall by his almighty power stops the force of

a mans corruptions, and makes the soule teachable, and framable to the will of God: it makes it to lie levell, and to be at Gods command; and this is done by a holy kind of violence." [28]

But once this sovereign effectual work of grace is wrought in a man's soul and there is no end to the consolations of the gospel.

"It is a word of consolation, and it is a cordiall to cheare up a man's heart and carry him through all troubles whatsoever can betide him or shall befall him. This doctrine of Justification it seems to me to be like *Noahs* Arke, when all the world was to bee drowned: God taught *Noah* to make an arke, and to pitch it about, that no water, nor winds, nor stormes could breake through, and so it bore up *Noah* above the waters, and kept him safe against wind and weather; when one was on the top of a mountain crying: O save me, another clambering upon the trees, all floting, and crying, and dying there; there was no saving but for those only that were gotten into the arke: Oh so it will be with you poore foolish beleevers, the world is like this sea, wherein are many floods of water, many troubles, much persecution: Oh get you into the arke the Lord Jesus, and when one is roring and yelling, Oh the devill, the devill; another is ready to hang himselfe, or to cut his owne throat; another sends for a Minister, and hee crieth, Oh there is no mercy for mee, I have opposed it; Get you into Christ, I say, and you shall bee safe I will warrant you; your soules shall bee transported with consolation to the end of your hopes." [29]

Such a consolation stands by a man in time of tribulation:

"Notwithstanding temptation, notwithstanding persecution, notwithstanding opposition, notwithstanding anything that may befall you for the present, or anything you may feare for the future time, cheare up your drooping spirits in

[28] *Preparing for Christ*, (1638,) pp. 24–26.
[29] *The Soules Exaltation*, (1638,) pp. 122–3.

the consideration hereof, and be forever comforted, forever contented, forever refreshed; you have a faire portion; what would you have? what can you desire? what would quiet you? what will content you? would the wisdome of a Christ satisfie you? would the sanctification of a Christ please you? would the redemption of a Christ cheare you? you complaine your hearts are hard, your sinnes great, and yourselves miserable, and many are the troubles that lie upon you; will the redemption of a Christ now satisfie you? If this will doe it, it is all yours; his wisdom is yours, his righteousness is yours, his sanctification is yours, all that he hath is yours, and I thinke this is sufficient if you know when you are well. Therefore goe away cheared, goe away comforted." [30]

And it will stand by one in the time of death:

"The death of the beleever is a mean to bring and estate them into the full possession of all that happinesse and glory, which heretofore hath beene expected, and Christ hath promised; now it shall be attained; the time now comes when the Saints of God shall have no more teares in their eyes, nor sin in their soules, nor sorrow in their hearts; when they die, then their sins and sorrows die, too; you shal never be dead-harted more; then you shal have holines in ful possession, which so long time you have longed for; it is now only in expectation, and you hope and looke for it, . . . but when death comes it will bring you the fruition of all that holinesse and happinesse. . . . Now you are children, but only in nonage; now you are wives, betrothed, and you goe up and downe in your rags of sinne; but when the solemnization of the marriage shall bee in the great day of accounts, then we shall be like him, and hee will make us altogether holy, and he will fill our blinde mindes with knowledge, and possess our corrupt hearts with all puritie, holinesse, and grace, so far as thy soule shall be capable of it, and shall bee needfull for thee. What! are you unwilling to goe to your husband?" [31]

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[30] *Ibid*, pp. 84, 85.
[31] *Ibid*, pp. 210–11.

And of this blessed estate the Spirit of God gives witness:

"The spirit doth evidence to the soule, broken and humbled, that the soule hath an interest in this mercy, that it was appointed for it, and he hath to meddle with it. . .

We may observe that a witnesse in a cause doth marvellously cleare it, if he be wise and judicious; and the thing that before was doubtfull comes now to be apparent; as now in a point of Law, two men contend for land; now, if an ancient wise man is called before the Judge at the Assizes, and hee beares witnesse upon his knowledge that such lands have beene in the possession of such a generation or family for the space of many yeares, this is a speciall testification that this man, being of that generation, hath an interest in those lands; so it is with the witnesse of Gods Spirit; there is a controversie between Satan and the Soule; the soul saith: Oh, that grace and compassion might be bestowed on mee! Why (saith Satan), dost thou conceive of any mercy, or grace and salvation? marke thy rebellions against thy Saviour; marke the wretched distempers of thy heart, and the filthy abominations of thy life; dost thou think of mercy? . . . . Now, the Spirit of God coming in, that casts the cause and makes it evident if such a poore heart have interest, and may meddle and make challenge to mercy because it hath beene prepared for them from the beginning of the world to this very day. Now this gives a light into the businesse, & the evidence is sure that this man hath title to all the riches and compassion of the Lord Jesus; *Acts* ii, 39. Every poore creature thinkes that God thinkes so of him as hee thinkes of himselfe, ... whereas the Spirit of the Lord judgeth otherwise, and God meanes well toward him, and intends good to all you that have been broken for your sins; and there is witness of it in heaven, and it shall be made good in your owne consciences." [32]

And therefore God's people ought to live cheerfully and victoriously:

"It is a marvellous great shame to see those that are borne

[32] *The Soules Effectvall Calling*, (1638,) pp. 79, 80.

to faire meanes, I meane the poore saints of God, that have a right and title to grace and Christ, and yet to live at such an under rate: I would have you to live above the world, though thou hast not a coat to cover thee, nor a house to put thy head in; yet if thou hast faith, thou art a rich man; therefore husband thy estate well. It is a shame, I say, to see them that they cannot husband that happy estate which they have; they live as if they had it not, so full of want, so full of care and pride, so weake, and unable to master their sinnes; whereas the fault is not in the power of faith, nor the promise, nor in the Lord, for the Lord doth not grudge his people of comfort, but would have them live cheerfully, and have strong consolations, and mighty assurance of God's love. And therefore the text saith: *Rejoyce in the Lord alwayes*." [33]

Mr. Hooker's observations about the general period of the effectual call of men, have a certain interest:

"Some are called in their youth, some in their middle age, some in their old age, some in the tender yeares, some in their riper age; some old, some young; but this is most true, that those whom God doth call, it is most commonly in their middle age, before they come to their old age; this is the generall course of God; he calls many before, some after, but most then; *Eccles.* iii, 1. There the wise man observes that there is a time appointed for every purpose, and it appeareth that the middle age is the fittest time for this purpose . . . . for it is observed by Philosophers that a man in his tender infancie lives the life of a tree onely, he onely eates and growes; and so it is with little children in their swadling cloathes; afterwards, when hee comes to further yeares, when he comes to be ten or twelve yeares old, then hee lives the life of a beast; he is taken away with these objects that are then most suitable to him; for a child to consider of the mysteries of life & salvation is almost impossible; he is not yet come to that ripenesse of judgement; but when he comes to the ripenesse of his yeares, from 20 yeares untill he comes to be

[33] *Ibid*, p. 619.

40, or thereabouts, then the workes of reason put forth themselves, then his apprehension is quick to conceive a thing, and his memory is strong and pregnant to retaine a thing apprehended, and his heart is somewhat plyable, ... therefore then is the fittest time that God should bestow his graces upon a man. Looke as it is with waxe; if a man melt it, it will be too soft to hold any impression, and when it is hard it will receive no seale neither, . . it must be neither too extremely hot, nor too hard, but mediately disposed, and then it will receive a seale; so it is with the nature of a man; in his tender yeares hee can hold nothing, he hath such a weake understanding. Tell a child of the wonders of salvation, and it is impossible, unlesse God workes wonderfully, that hee should receive them; 'a mans nature in his infancie, is like waxe that is too soft, and the nature of an old man is like waxe too hard; but now a middle aged man is neither so weake as the one, nor so hard as the other, but it is most fit for God to put a stamp upon, for his heart is the most plyable to receive the things of grace." [84]

One quotation more must suffice. The topic treated of is "What is a powerful minister?"

"The word is compared to a sword: as, if a man should draw a sword and flourish it about, and should not strike a blow with it, it will doe no harme; even so it is here with the Ministers, little good will they doe if they doe onely explicate; if they doe onley draw out the sword of the Spirit: for unlesse they apply it to the peoples hearts particularly, little good may the people expect, little good shall the Minister doe. A common kind of teaching when the Minister doth speake only hoveringly, and in the generall, and never applies the word of God particularly, may be compared to the confused noise that was in the ship wherein *Jonah* was, when the winds blew, and the sea raged, and a great storm began to arise. The poore Marriners strove with might and maine, and they did endeavour by all meanes possible to bring the

[84] *Preparing for Christ*, pp. 198–200.

ship to the shore; every one cried unto his god and cast their wares into the sea, and all this while *Jonas* was fast asleepe in the ship: but when the Marriners came down and plucked him up, and said, *Arise, thou sleeper, . . Who art thou? Call upon thy God*, then he was awakened out of his sleepe. The common delivery of the word is like that confused noise: there is matter of heaven, of hell, of grace, of sin spoken of, there is a common noise, and all this while men sit and sleepe carelessly, and never looke about them, but rest secure: but when particular application comes, that shakes a sinner, as the Pilot did *Jonah*, and asks him, What assurance of God's mercy hast thou? what hope of pardon of sinnes? of life and happinesse hereafter? You are baptized, and so were many that are in hell: you come to Church, and so did many that are in hell: but what is your conversation in the meantime? Is that holy in the sight of God and man?

"When the Ministers of God shake men and take them up on this fashion then they begin to stirre up themselves, and to consider of their estates. This generall and common kind of teaching is like an enditement without a name: if a man should come to the assizes, and make a great exclamation and have no name to his enditement, alas, no man is troubled with it, no man feares it, no man shall receive any punishment by reason of it. So it is with this common kind of preaching, it is an enditement without a name. We arrest none before wee particularly arraigne them before the tribunall of the Lord, and show them these and these are their sinnes, and that unless they repent and forsake them they shall be damned: for then this would stirre them up, and make them seke to the Lord for mercy; this would rowse them out of their security, and awaken them, and make them say as the Jewes did to *Peter* and the rest of the Apostles, *Men and brethren, what shall wee doe to bee saved?*" [35]

The foregoing quotations give a fair specimen of Hooker's style. But they only partially indicate the wonderful variety

[35] *The Soules Implantation*, (1640,) pp. 73–77.

of pat, homely, forcible illustration, and of pungent, searching, and energetic application, with which the same essential theme is treated in most of his many volumes. But they are sufficient to make evident that such a preacher was sure of hearers. Such an analyst of human emotions must touch men at many points. A son of thunder and a son of consolation by turns, his ministry—whatever the extravagances or the defects of his theology—must have been anywhere and in any age powerful.

Mr. Hooker's *Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline* stands, as has been said, apart from all his other writings, in the character of a controversial essay, not addressed to listening auditors or upon an experimentally religious theme. As such, it gives opportunity, more than do the other volumes written by him, for the indication of his really profound learning, and his extraordinary acuteness as a logician. It justifies Dr. Ames' observation concerning him, that he had never met with Mr. Hooker's equal for "disputing;" [36] by which he meant, strenuous debate and discussion.

Nevertheless it cannot be denied that the controversial character of the treatise, and its minute and laborious confutations of the positions of Mr. Rutherford's book, to which it was written as a reply, have put it at a disadvantage, as to popular interest and impression, when compared, for example, with John Cotton's *Way of the Churches in New England*, or his *Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven*. The reader everywhere admires the subtlety of the author's analysis, and the vigor and acuteness of his rejoinders; but he wearies of the endless process of replication to statements made in the volume controverted. It is a vast pity, so far as the general popular effect of Mr. Hooker's ecclesiastical instruc-

[36] *Magnalia*, i, 308.

tions is concerned, and the vitality of his repute as a Congregational authority, that he did not leave his teachings in the form of a simple, direct treatise on what he conceived to be the Scriptural, and what he helped to make the New England way, rather than so imbedded in and combined with such a mass of polemic detail. That he could easily have written such a plain and straight-forward argument, which might have stood the foremost document of ecclesiastical authority for the period in question, cannot be doubted by any one who considers either his general capacity as a writer, or who more particularly regards the brief and admirable statement of the main positions advocated by him in the *Survey*, as given by him in the Preface to his volume; with the quotation of which statement this chapter upon Mr. Hooker's writings may well conclude.

"*I shall plainly and punctually expresse my self in a word of truth, in these following points*, viz.:

"Visible Saints are the only true and meete matter, whereof a visible Church should be gathered, and confœderation is the form.

"The Church as *Totum essentiale*, is, and may be, before Officers.

"There is no Presbyteriall Church (*i. e.* A Church made up of the Elders of many Congregations appointed Classick-wise, to rule all those Congregations) in the N. T.

"A Church Congregationall is the first subject of the keys.

"Each Congregation compleatly constituted of all Officers, hath sufficient power in her self, to exercise the power of the keyes, and all Church discipline, in all the censures thereof.

"Ordination is not before election.

"There ought to be no ordination of a Minister at large, *Namely, such as should make him Pastour without a People.*

"The election of the people hath an instrumentall causall vertue under Christ to give an outward call unto an Officer.

"Ordination is only a solemn installing of an Officer into the Office, unto which he was formerly called.

"Children of such, who are members of Congregations, ought only to be baptized.

"The consent of the people gives a causal vertue to the compleating of the sentence of excommunication. Whilst the Church remains a true Church of Christ, it doth not lose this power, nor can it lawfully be taken away.

"Consociation of Churches should be used, as occasion doth require.

"Such consociations and Synods have allowance to counsell and admonish other Churches, as the case may require. And if they grow obstinate in errour or sinfull miscarriages, they should renounce the right hand of fellowship with them.

"But they have no power to excommunicate.

"Nor do their constitutions binde formalitèr & juridicè.

"*In all these I have leave to professe the joint judgement of all the Elders upon the river: of* New-haven, Guilford, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield: *and of most* of the Elders of the Churches in the Bay, *to whom I did send in particular, and did receive approbation from them under their hands: Of the rest* (*to whom I could not send*) *I cannot so affirm; but this I can say, That* at a common meeting,[37] *I was desired by them all, to publish what now I do.*"[38]

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[37] July 1, 1645. See *ante*, p. 112.

[38] Since writing the foregoing pages, a carefully prepared Bibliography of Mr. Hooker's publications has been kindly furnished by the very competent hand of Dr. J. H. Trumbull. It will be found in Appendix V.

CHAPTER VII.

THE QUARREL IN STONE'S DAY.

Upon the death of the first Pastor, the Church does not seem to have contemplated the possibility of long continuing with the services of only one minister. Mr. Stone was only forty-four years old, but the theory of the dual ministry, with which the New England churches had begun, was not yet worn out. So, measures were taken to secure a successor to Mr. Hooker.

The seed planted in the founding of Harvard College, in 1636, had already begun to bear fruit. As early as 1644, the Colony of Connecticut had taken measures "conserneing the mayntenaunce of scollers at Cambridge," ordering "that 2 men shalbe appoynted in euery Towne w^th^in this Jurisdiction who shall demaund whch euery family will giue" to that object.[1] And now the Hartford Church, whose members had been contributors to the "scollers" at the college, turned to one of them as the successor of their Pastor. This was Jonathan Mitchell, born in Halifax, in England, in 1624, now twenty-five years of age, and destined, though dying early,[2] to be one of the most famous of New England's ministers. He graduated at Harvard in 1647, and was apparently pursuing a course of study in divinity, when "the Church of Hartford . . . . being therein Countenanced and Encouraged by

[1] *Col. Rec.*, i, 112.

[2] July 9, 1668, aged about 44.

Mr. *Stone*, sent a Man, an Horse, above an Hundred miles, to obtain a visit from him, in expectation to make him the Successor of their ever famous *Hooker*."[3]

Mr. Mitchell came and preached on the first occasion of his public ministry anywhere, in this place, June 24, 1649. He, himself, was much depressed by the performance. But, it appears, the congregation was not. For, "that judicious Assembly of Christians . . . . in a Meeting the Day following Concluded to give him an Invitation to Settle among them;" adding, that if he wished "to continue a year longer at the *Colledge* they would . . . . advance a considerable Sum of Money, to assist him in furnishing himself with a *Library*."[4] Mr. Mitchell was not, however, to become Pastor of the Hartford Church. He had made certain partial promises to Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge, to come back untrammeled from his Hartford expedition. He speedily preached in Mr. Shepard's pulpit, and on Mr. Shepard's death, which happened almost immediately after,[5] he was called to the pastorate of that church, and was ordained there on August 21st, 1650.

It is probable that it was with more or less similar intent toward providing a successor in the vacant office—though with no such unanimity of action on the part of the congregation—that, at least, three other men preached in Hartford, for periods of uncertain extent, before the Church secured an associate for Mr. Stone.

The first of these was the afterward celebrated Michael Wigglesworth, concerning the troublesome results of whose candidacy in this Church, for which he appears to have been

[3] *Magnalia*, ii, 72.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Aug. 25, 1649.

no way responsible, there will be ample and deplorable occasion hereafter, more fully to speak. Just here, it is enough to say that Mr. Wigglesworth was born in England, in 1631, brought in childhood to New England, educated in youth at Ezekiel Cheever's school in New Haven, and graduated at Harvard in 1651. In April, 1654, being then twenty-three years old, he "stayd a ffourtnight at Hartford," and preached.[6] But he had, apparently, not only preached there previously, but had received from Mr. Stone, and, perhaps, from the Church of Hartford, certain overtures the year previously, the precise nature of which cannot be determined. For he says, in his Diary, under date of August 27th, 1653, "I am both in a strait how to answ^{r} Mr. Stone's motion & attend my father's counsel. I know not w^{t} gods mind may be. I am in y^{e} dark." And again, under date of Sept. 10th, of the same year, he writes: "I am at a strait concern. my answer to Hartford motion; I am indifferet to engage or not, to look toward England or not, if I could be clear in gods call." But these overtures, whatever they were, failed, partly for reasons we shall afterwards more distinctly discern, to bring Mr. Wigglesworth to Hartford as a home. His Diary, under date of 17th of July, 1655, speaks of the "Maldon Invitation." He was, at some uncertain date, ordained at Malden, Mass., where his pastoral connection, amid many

[6] Wigglesworth's *Manuscript Diary*. Mass. Hist. Society. The diary shows him again in Hartford, in March, 1655, staying some time. On this occasion he "got 2 horses at Wethersfield," of John Latimer, March 24, to "take my moth. to New Hauen." His mother had come up to Hartford to meet him, March 10th. John Latimer (fined August 1, 1639, for "vnseasonable and imoderate drinking," but serving as an honorable juryman afterward) seems to have been a horse-letting character. The General Court, February 23, 1652, passed this resolve: "This Courte Considering John Lattimor's loss in his horse that dyed in the Bay, being not willing that the whole loss should lye upon him, they are willing to allow him out of the publick treasury the sum of fifteen pounds towards his horse." *Pub. Rec.*, i, 237.

vicissitudes on account of his physical infirmity, continued till his death, June 10, 1705.[7]

John Davis, too, a classmate of Wigglesworth at college, son of William Davis of New Haven, preached, as well as taught school, in Hartford in 1655. The town made grants to him in payment for both kinds of service.[8] He was a young man of learning and promise, but, sailing in November, 1657, on a voyage to England, was, together with the vessel, "never heard of more."

Later still, for a more protracted period, John Cotton, son of the famous minister of the Boston church—who was born in 1640, and graduated at Harvard in 1657, and who studied divinity with Mr. Stone—preached in Hartford. In 1659 the town "did grant a rate of thirty pounds to be paid to Mr. Cotton for his labours amongst us, and his charges in coming up to us, the half of it to be paid presently and the other half to be paid at the end of the year."[9] This seemed like

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[7] Mr. Wigglesworth was the author of the *Day of Doom*, and several other metrical "Composures." He was also a physician and practiced medicine at Malden. He had many breaks in his ministry, owing to ill health, being, apparently, at one time, laid by for nearly twenty years; but in his age was so much better that Cotton Mather, in his funeral sermon, was able to say of him: "It was a surprise unto us to see a Little Feeble *Shadow of a Man*, beyond *Seventy*, *Preaching* usually Twice or Thrice in a Week; Visiting and Comforting the *Afflicted;* Encouraging the *Private Meetings*, ... and attending the Sick," not only as *Pastor* but as *Physician* too." See Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, vol. i, 259–286.

[8] "The precise time of his coming or going is uncertain. The town allowed him £10 'for preaching and schooling' to the 7th of February, 1655–6, and payment of an unpaid balance due him was ordered by the town, May 28, 1656. A memorandum on the Town Records shows that the sum stipulated to be paid to Mr. Davis for the year 1655, was contributed or advanced before January 20, 1655–6, by six individuals—John Richards, John White, [Samuel] Fitch, James Steele, Francis Barnard, and the widow of Wm. Gibbons—all of the 'South Side' of Hartford, and three or four of whom were among the 'withdrawers' from the First church in 1656, or became members of the Second church in 1669–70." J. H. Trumbull, in *Conn. Hist. Coll.*, ii, p. 54.

[9] *Town Records.* At the same date "Capt. Lord and Mr. John Allen" were appointed "to make Mr. Cotton's rate." The *Colonial Records* preserve (i, p.

something of permanence, but Mr. Cotton, after three or four years' residence here and at Wethersfield, returned to Boston unordained.

During this period of more or less distinct effort to supply the vacant pastorate, one or two items of public action may be noted, which doubtless the Hartford Church had its share in. A code of laws was adopted by the General Court in May 1650, which, among other provisions, ordained the following:

"This Courte, judging it necessary that some meanes should bee vsed to conuey the lighte and knowledge of God and his Worde to the Indians and Natiues amongst vs, doe order that one of the teaching Elders of the Churches in this Jurisdiction, with the helpe of Thomas Stanton, shall bee desired, twise at least in every yeare, to goe among the neighboring Indians and indeauour to make knowne unto them the Councells of the Lord." [10]

And later, September 23, 1654, the Commissioners of the United Colonies took the following action, in which the part of this Church is more definitely seen:

"Vpon a motion made to ye Commissioners by Capt. Cullick from the Generall Courte of Connecticott to take into ye consideration yc instruction of yc Indians in theire Jurisdiction, in yc knowledge of God, and their desire yt John Minor might bee entertained as an interpreter to communicate to ye said Indians those instructions wch shall be deliu-

346) the appointment, April 11, 1660–1, of individuals "to assist Mr. Jo: Cotton in administration" of the estate of Thomas Welles; and (p. 359) Mr. Cotton's admission as freeman of the Colony, March 14, 1660–1. Mr. Cotton's subsequent experiences, after leaving Connecticut, were diversified. He was excommunicated from the Boston church in 1664, restored to fellowship the same year, and went to Martha's Vineyard. He went to Plymouth in 1667, was ordained there in 1669, dismissed in 1697, in a church quarrel of doubtful merits; went to Charleston, S. C., and died there in September, 1699. He was a man of brilliant gifts and great acquisitions. See *Sibley*, i, pp. 496–508.

[10] *Col. Records*, i, p. 531.

ered by Mr. Stone, Mr. Newton or any other allowed by the Courte, and allso y^t y^e said Minor may bee further instructed and fitted by Mr. Stone to bee a meete instrument to carry on the worke of propagating y^e Gospell to y^e Indians, y^e Commissioners . . . . doe desire y^e Magistrates of Connecticott to take care y^t y^e said Minor be entertained at Mr. Stones or some other meet place, and they shall order y^t due allowance bee made for his dyet and education out of the corporation stock." [11]

But pleasant as are these tokens of Missionary spirit in the Colony and the Church, it is not this which most fills the pages of the story of those days. The period following a point about six years subsequent to Mr. Hooker's death, till four years before Mr. Stone's death—or from about 1653 to 1659 inclusive—is remembered chiefly for a quarrel in the Hartford Church, of such virulence, contagiousness, and publicity, that it attracted the attention of all the churches in New England, and occupies a large place in every history of early ecclesiastical affairs in this Colony.

From the perplexing and melancholy details of this controversy it would be agreeable to turn away. But it is one of the great facts of the Church's story which cannot be passed by. And it is a controversy, moreover, which all who have written on it, even from contemporaneous days to the present, have pronounced a difficult one fully to understand. Cotton Mather says "the true *original* of the *misunderstanding* . . . . has been rendered almost as obscure as the rise of *Connecticut* River. But it proved in its unhappy consequences, too like that great river in its great annual inundations, for it overspread the whole Colony of *Connecticut*." [12] Dr. Benjamin Turnbull says, what "began the dissension

[11] *Ibid*, p. 265, note.
[12] *Magnalia*, i, p. 394.

does not fully appear," [13] but attributes its origin to a "difference between the Rev. Mr. Stone and Mr. Goodwin, the ruling elder in the church, upon some nice points of Congregationalism." [14] Dr. Bacon speaks of "that passage in our church history" as "an obscure one, the documents by which it might be illustrated having mostly perished." [15] All these writers on the Hartford quarrel were obliged to say what they did respecting it, in absence of certain very important papers relating to the controversy, extant, but then undiscovered. [16] The publication of these papers in the Collections of the Historical Society of Connecticut in 1870, affords, for the partial solution of the trouble, a very important assistance.

It has been customary before the discovery of the documents above referred to — and indeed to some extent since then also — in the attempts which have been made to explain this troubled passage in this Church's history, to ascribe a very large agency in it, to the agitation of questions concerning baptism and the rights of children of baptized parents who were not themselves church members — questions which began, certainly, to be mooted before this period, and which came to open and demonstrated conflict in the rupture of the Church in 1670. But it may well be ques-

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[13] Trumbull, i, p. 308.

[14] *Ibid*, p. 297.

[15] *Contributions to Conn. Eccl. Hist.*, p. 15.

[16] These papers relating to the Hartford Church controversy, with the exception of three, were discovered by Dr. Palfrey, among the Landsdown MSS. in the British Museum. They are, to a considerable extent, *exparte; i. e.*, it is the "Withdrawers'" side of the case which is mainly presented. There are several of the Withdrawers' letters to the Church; and letters to them by the counsellors they sought; there are the "results" of one or two conferences and Councils, but nowhere a statement by the Hartford *Church* of its side of the controversy. The papers are in the *Historical Society Collections*, vol. ii, pp. 51–125.

tioned whether the influence of this factor of the problem has not been very much exaggerated in this quarrel of Stone's day, if indeed it can be said to have exerted any considerable agency. Not one of the twenty-one contemporaneous documents, of various authorship, in the newly discovered papers published in the Historical Society Collection, speaks of this matter as in anyway an issue in debate.[17] And an attentive reading of the careful historian Dr. Trumbull, who wrote in ignorance of these papers, will show that even he conceived the agitation of the question of Baptism and of claims to church membership, to have been not of the substance of the trouble, but a matter of "meanwhile," and for which certain parties "took this opportunity."[18] Dr. Trumbull probably touches the real root of the affair when he speaks of the controversy as one concerning the "rights of

[17] This is a fact impossible to account for if the question of the rights of children of baptized parents, or of a title to church-membership based on baptism only, had been a recognized factor in the controversy. Somewhere in this voluminous mass of papers it would have found utterance in definite shape. Especially in the long and careful letter of Mr. Davenport (*Conn. Hist. Col.*, ii, pp. 88-93), who was so zealous a partisan on that question, and who afterward was so exercised by its emergence in this Hartford Church in the days of Whiting and Haynes, must distinct reference have been found to this element of the difficulty had it been an acknowledged element. Nor in that case could the Elders of the Bay have said of the cause of the controversy, as they did say in their letter to Mr. Goodwin and Capt. Cullick of the Withdrawing party (*Ibid*, p. 59–63) "the source of whose flames perplexeth vs day and night." Whereas on the contrary, in all the seventy pages of lately-discovered documents now before us, not only is there no statement of any such question as involved in the controversy, but there is only one sentence of three lines which can even be interpreted as making an allusion to the existence of any debate on such questions at all. It was, in truth, the largely personal element in the controversy which was the perplexing element. The issue was not, in this earlier struggle, the broad one of the rights of baptized persons or their children; but, at least chiefly, the rights of the minority of the Hartford Church known as the Withdrawers, and those of the majority led by the very pronounced officiality of Mr. Stone, and involving opposing convictions of the due rights and prerogatives of each.

[18] *Trumbull*, i, 297, 298.

the brotherhood,"[19] and the conviction entertained by Mr. Goodwin that these rights had been disregarded.

Regarding this as the only view of the matter consistent with the documents in the case, the story of the quarrel will now be attempted; reserving the narrative of the controversy concerning baptismal rights, which to some extent ran parallel with this, incidentally mixed itself with it, continued after it, and finally resulted in the separation of the Second Church of Hartford from the First, to that independent treatment which really belongs to it.

All accounts agree that the Hartford Church difficulty began in antagonism between Teaching-Elder Stone and Ruling-Elder Goodwin.[20] What was the occasion of that antagonism?

Whatever elements in the pronounced characters of these two men, in the undefined limitations of their ecclesiastical functions, and in the special relationship of intimacy between Mr. Goodwin and the late Pastor of the Church, may have made such antagonism one easy to develop, it is in a high degree probable that a more definite and recognizable occasion can be found, from a careful study of the whole case.

It has been noticed that at different periods in 1653 and

[19] *Ibid*, p. 297. The suggestion of Dr. Bacon (*Contributions, etc.*, p. 15) that there was involved in the controversy "a conflict between opposite principles of ecclesiastical order," is an accurate one. Only it may be doubted if he or any one has given allowance enough for the strength of the personal element involved in the whole conflict.

[20] This is the traditionary account as given in all the histories; and it is sharply confirmed by the contemporaneous letter of Rev. John Higginson of Guilford in his testimony and counsel concerning the reception of the Withdrawers by the Church of Wethersfield (*Hist. Coll.*, ii, p. 93). "In the first breaking out of the difference betwixt Mr Stone and Mr Goodwin I did what lay in mee to disswade them from a Counsell in this case, and rather perswaded to a more priuate and brotherly way of healing, before the church there was engaged unto parties."

1654 Michael Wigglesworth preached at Hartford, and awaited the development of certain "motions" there. It is also distinctly in evidence, for he acknowledges it himself, that Mr. Stone "hindered y^e^ church from declaring their apprehensions by vote (upon y^e^ day in question) concerning Mr. Wigglesworth's fitnes for office in y^e^ church of Hartford."[21] Mr. Stone admits that, in a general way, "it is a liberty of y^e^ church to declare their apprehensions by vote about y^e^ fitness of a p^r^son for office upon his Tryall;" but proceeds to say, "I look upon it as a received Truth y^t^ an officer may in some cases lawfully hinder y^e^ church fro putting forth at this or y^t^ time an act of her liberty."[22]

It seems that this high conception of his official prerogative was not allowed to be so much of a "received Truth" as the Teacher asserted. Stormy "meetings" of the Church followed, in which "the charge of infringement" of the prerogatives of others in this act of the Teacher, was urged by Mr. Goodwin, but in which the majority of the Church stood by the Teacher and "acquitted" him. But the charge, though rejected by the Church after debate in two meetings, was again preferred in a formal paper by Mr. Cullick, to which the Church sent a reply.[23]

The agitation, however, continued, and, at some meeting of the Church, Mr. Stone was so far wrought upon as to

[21] *Hist. Coll.*, ii, 71.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid*, 72. The answer of the Church is lost. See also p. 53 for notes of Mr. Cullick's interview with Mr. Stone. In this interview Mr. Cullick is reported to have said: "If he [the candidate in question] had declared that we had not taken content in his tryall the Church might have had no other consideration; but he not declaring any such, then it lieth on our part to hold forth something to him, that we either do like or approve of him or do not." To which Mr. Stone replied: "I do not think it is necessarie for him to expresse any dislike. M^r^ Michall never expressed any dislike when he left the congreg: As we are not to express any dislike of him, that must be knowne first, whether he go to the Bay absolutelie resolved neu^r^ to return."

resign his office. The account of this is one of the documents of the minority, and may perhaps be received with allowance for some partisan coloring. Mr. Stone is reported to have said:

"That he would lay downe his place and office power; That he should not improve that power or act as an officer any more amongst them; That hee would not have the ch: thinke they were nothing but great words, but hee would haue them Assure themselves hee did not onely say it, but hee would doe it; tooke his leave of the Congregations thanking them for all their Loue and Respect to him, telling them that if any Bro: thought he had recieued more then his Labo^rs deseured he would restore it to y^m . . . . but that if he could doe any th: for the ch: where euer hee came, in procuring them another in his roome, hee would doe it; for another might doe good in this place though he could not; that hee clearly saw that his worke was done in this place, and that hee had the Advice of the Ablest Elders in the Bay for what hee did." [24]

Obviously the Teacher was in a good deal of heat, and very probably strongly provoked thereto. So doubtless was Mr. Goodwin; but the thing which must most strongly have gone against his grain, was his practical deposition from the Ruling Eldership—and consequently from the official headship of the Church, now that Mr. Stone had resigned—by the "choice of a moderator" by the Church, in accordance with the advice of Mr. Stone, "to lead the ch: in his roome." [25]

The minority hereupon apparently withdrew from communion with the Church. But being remonstrated with therefor, by letters received from Mr. Stone—again acting, it would seem, in the official capacity he had renounced—and others of the brethren, they replied, March 12, 1656, refusing

[24] *Ibid*, 58–59.
[25] *Ibid*, pp. 59, 72.

to recognize Mr. Stone as an officer of the Church, and calling for "an Able and Indifferent Councell mutually chosen" to consider the whole case.[26]

The Church thereupon addressed another letter to the Withdrawers, apparently nominating a Council of Elders from the Bay, and proposing certain conditions of agreement.[27] To this letter the Withdrawers rejoined, March 20, 1656, objecting to the Council nominated by the Church as not being "a Councell agreed vpon by the consent of the whole Church;" urging that the Council might be chosen from "within the compass of these two neighboring Colonies, viz.: New Hauen and o^r owne, and that out of them each party might haue the choice of the Elders of 4 or 5 Churches;" and asking, if such a Council could not be had, that they and their wives and children might have dismission "to some approued Church or Churches of Christe."[28]

Apparently the Church granted this very reasonable request for a mutual Council, at least so far that one composed of several Elders of this Colony, and Mr. Prudden of New Haven Colony, assembled in Hartford on June 11, 1656.[29]

The decision of this Council, as it was afterwards stated by Mr. Davenport[30] and Mr. Higginson,[31] and confirmed by

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[26] This letter is signed by John Webster, at this time Deputy Governor, John Cullick, Nathaniel Ward, Andrew Bacon, Andrew Warner, John White, John Crow, Thomas Standley, John Barnard, Gregory Wolerton, John Arnold, Zachary Fild, Richard Church, George Steele, Ozias Goodwin, Will. Partrigg, John Marsh, Isaac Graues, Beniamen Harbert, Wm. Leawis, Thomas Bunc. It will be observed William Goodwin's name does not appear. Possibly he was not included in the letter sent by the Church to the withdrawing party. *Ibid*, pp. 54–55.

[27] This letter is lost. Its propositions can only be inferred from the reply.

[28] *Ibid*, pp. 56–58.

[29] None of the Bay Elders seem to have been on this Council.

[30] *Ibid*, pp. 88–93.

[31] *Ibid*, pp. 93–100.

a letter of the Withdrawers[32] to the Church under date of March 13, 1657, was a substantial vindication of the position of the minority, as against the arbitrary procedures of Mr. Stone and the Church. Its definite recommendations were that "satisfaction for mutuall offences" be given, or that "dismission of the dissenting brethren" be granted, "in case of non-satisfaction."

The Withdrawing party always afterward contended that they had tendered the "satisfaction" which the Council enjoined, but that the Church had failed to do either of the things demanded. And this view of the case is supported by the statements of Davenport and Higginson.

But for some reason, not now altogether explicable, the Church disregarded the findings of the Council; and Mr. Stone, at a later point of the controversy—viz., March 25, 1658[33]—stigmatized it, in a paper addressed to the General Court, as "canciled and of no force." And even at the present moment of the Council's verdict, he apparently accompanied or immediately followed the publication of the Result with his own published "considerations" upon it, intended to break its power.[34] The Elders of the Council, thus impeached in their judgments by the Teacher's publication against their conclusions, rejoined,[35] and the trouble only spread wider.

In August, following this Council of June, 1656, Mr. Stone was in Boston, and had interviews with the elders there.[36]

Five of the most distinguished of them, John Wilson and

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[32] *Ibid*, pp. 68–70.

[33] *Col. Rec.*, i, p. 317.

[34] *Hist. Coll.*, ii, p. 90; and p. 72, where Mr. Stone says: "In publishing my considerations together wth y^{e} determinations of y^{e} late reverend Assembly at that time, I acted unseasonably." This is under date of April 18, 1657.

[35] *Ibid*, p. 90.

[36] *Ibid*, p. 60.

John Norton of the Boston church, Richard Mather of Dorchester, Samuel Whiting of Lynn, and John Sherman of Watertown, were moved to write a letter to Captain John Cullick and Elder Goodwin, of the withdrawing party, deploring the continuance of the difficulties; "Vnable wth longer silence to behold y^{e} wound of so famous a sister church and mother in Israel, still bleeding, if not vlcerating;" declaring that the source of the troubles "perplexeth vs day and night," and tendering their offices of aid in the settlement of the contention, either by having the representatives of the two parties in the Hartford Church "come together unto the Bay," or by themselves going to Hartford, if that were deemed more convenient. The letter continues with fervent exhortations to avoid the

"Scandall of an incurable breach . . . and y^{e} reproach of the Congregationall way. The greater the Name of your church hath bene, the greater will the wounde bee, given by your breach to y^{e} name of Jesus. . . . . It is more bitter than death y^{t} miserable wee should survive the worthyes late deceased and leaving the churches in peace wth vs, to see them perish by home-bred contention, both in our sight and vnder our charge. . . . . We doubt not but speech will then be excused when to be speechlesse were inexcusable. Our bowels! our bowels! we are payned at the very hearts, we cañot hold our penn."

The letter concludes by saying that "M^{r}. Stone will stay here till we heare from you." [87]

Apparently the proposition to go to the Bay was not acceptable to the gentlemen to whom the letter was addressed, for in September following another letter was sent—this time by several churches in Massachusetts—to the Hartford Church entreating the latter still "to continue together," until "a

[87] *Ibid*, pp. 59–63.

second meeting, consisting of some frō hence wth some also of yo^{r}selves, y^{e} late reverend Councell, wth any others you shall see cause," might be had as a further expedient of peace. The letter furthermore exhorts the Church, on the one hand, not to be in haste "to purg out y^{e} old leven" by way of discipline; and the Withdrawers, on the other, not to be in haste to depart, alleging that "intempestive secession w^{r} a sinn." It points out the scandal it would be to have it said that this "was y^{e} first church w^{ch} proved incurable under all meanes applicable in y^{e} congregationall way," and declares that "the ill savo^{r} of such a breach cannot be suppressed wthin the limmits of the Colonies." [38]

Apparently the Church accepted this suggestion of the sister churches of the Bay, and made an overture to the Withdrawers to join with the Church in submitting the case to their counsel and that of the elders of the former Council united with them. [39]

This proposition of the Church was seconded by the ever-meddlesome General Court which, on the 26th of February, 1657, expressed its desire that the elders of the Council of June previous, should be ready to meet with the elders of the Bay in their proposed visit to Hartford; that Hartford Church should invite them for this purpose, unless, indeed, the elders of the June Council could themselves compose the troubles and make the errand of the Massachusetts elders unnecessary; and that Mr. Stone and the Church should state in their letters to the members of the former Council "in writing the p^{r}ticulars wherein they are not sattisfyed" with its determinations. Mr. Cullick, Mr. Steele, and Governor Webster opposed this

[38] *Ibid*, pp. 64–68. Just what churches united in this overture does not appear.

[39] Here again the Church's overture is lost. The only clue to the terms is the Withdrawers' reply.

action of the Court as uncalled for, in view of the fact that a Council had already given its opinions in the matter, and had been disregarded.[40] The Withdrawers, too, answered the Church's proposition negatively.[41] They urged that the Church had not yielded "to that councell that is already giuen," in either part of it, whether respecting satisfaction or dismission; that they knew of no "rule to call another councill;" and suggested caustically that the Church's "interteynment" of the advice of the members of the Council already met in June previous, would not "be any incoradgement to them to com againe."

Whatever fault of temper may perhaps have characterized the minority, this position was ecclesiastically sound. Nevertheless, by some means or other, they were apparently induced to waive their objections to a meeting with the Bay elders for the hearing of the whole case.

Accordingly, as soon as departing snows would allow of journeying, John Norton, teacher of the Boston church, and representatives of six other churches[42] of the Bay, set out for Hartford, on the 6th of April.[43]

Their departure on their pacifying errand was made the special occasion of a day of prayer on the 16th, by the Boston church, and probably by the other Massachusetts churches and of "solemn humiliation in their behalf."

Met in Hartford, with the two parties face to face, the Church and the Withdrawers, progress seemed difficult.[44] Ap-

[40] *Col. Records*, i, pp. 290–291.

[41] In a letter of March 13, 1657, signed by John Webster, John Cullick, William Goodwin, and Andrew Bacon. *Hist. Coll.*, pp. 68–70. It will be observed that two of the signers had already opposed the project in the General Court of February previous.

[42] *Hist. Coll.*, p. 79. Barding's Complaint.

[43] Hull's Diary, *Archæologica Americana*, iii, p. 180.

[44] Hull writes (*Ibid*, p. 180) under date of April 23d: "We received letters

parently all the papers in the case, together with the conclusions of the Council of June 1656, were put in evidence. Mr. Stone's refusal to let the Church take a vote on Mr. Wigglesworth's candidacy;[45] his resignation of his office;[46] the choice of a moderator "to lead the ch: in his roome;"[47] reports of conversations,[48] and the various letters of the Church and the minority[49] were undoubtedly passed in review.

What acknowledgments, if any, the Withdrawers made does not appear — Time seemingly having preserved the positive side of the case with jealous care and hidden its reverse, taking an opposite course with that of the Church — but Mr. Stone put in an acknowledgment, which, though its main points have been incidentally spoken of and partly quoted before, is so illustrative of the high views of official prerogative held by the Teacher, as well as of certain qualities of his personal character, that it may be best to present it here.

"1. I acknowledge y^t it a liberty of y^e church to declare their apprehensions by vote about y^e fitness of a p^rson for office upon his Tryall.

"2. I look at it as a recieved Truth y^t an officer may in some cases lawfully hinder y^e church frō putting forth at this or y^t time an act of her liberty.

"3. I acknowledge y^t I hindered y^e church frō declaring their apprehensions by vote (upon y^e day in question) concerning Mr. Wigglesworth's fitnes for office in y^e church of Hartford.

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from Hartford, and understood that the work of reconciliation went very slowly forward."

[45] *Hist. Coll.*, p. 71.

[46] *Ibid*, pp. 58–59.

[47] *Ibid*, p. 59.

[48] *Ibid*, p. 53.

[49] *Ibid*, pp. 54–58.

"4. I am not conscious to myselfe y^t I intended therein y^e least just grievance to any brother, yet w^n I diserned that it was grievous to diverse brethren, and I had expressed my own apprehensions about y^e rule in y^e case, I should have been willing to have left y^e church (had they desired it) to their liberty in voting.

"5. As concerning y^e manner of y^e carriage of this businesse I suspect myself, that I might faile therein: And whatever error or failing therein God shall discover to me by y^e helpe of any of y^e Elders of y^e late reverend Assembly, or of y^e dissenting brethren, taking in y^e help of y^e messengers frō y^e churches of y^e bay, my hearty desire is not only freely to acknowledge it, but heartily to be thankfull to any or all of y^m by whom such light shall be p^rsented.

"6. In publishing my considerations together w^th y^e determinations of y^e late reverend Assembly at that time, I acted unseasonably.

Sam: Stone.[50]

This 18^th of 2^m.
1657."

But by some good means an apparent reconciliation was arrived at. An "instrument of pacification" was "read, voted, and owned solemnly before God, angels and men;"[51] the Withdrawers agreed "to walke with [the Church] as formerly;" and the elders of Massachusetts returned on the 6th of May, and carried word that the Lord had "graciously wrought the Church at Hartford to a reunion, and a mutual promise to bury all former differences in silence for the future."[52]

But the peace was of short duration. In June, Mr. Stone went to Boston to attend the Synod called by Massachusetts,

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[50] *Ibid*, pp. 71-72.

[51] *Ibid*, p. 117.

[52] Hull's *Diary*, *Arch. Amer.*, iii, 180. An agreement which would manifestly have been impossible had the vital problem of the rights appertaining to Baptism been the question at issue.

to which there will be occasion hereafter more particularly to refer. Apparently he continued there from June into August; for on the second of that month, a letter, sent by him from the Bay, with certain propositions annexed, was presented to the Church.[53] The letter speaks of the writer's love for the Church, but also of his being "now aged[54] and weake," and troubled with "diuers infirmities" of body; of there being "no Phisician at Hartford or neare at hande;" of his being "vtterly vnable to act those great and difficult matters of Church governm^{t} w^{ch} must be attended to;" and therefore suggests whether it is not best for him to "haue liberty to remove to some other place where [his] worke may be more easy and tolerable and where [he] may live to doe some service for Christ." The propositions with which this letter was accompanied demanded, first, that the Church at Hartford should "submitt toe every doctrine" propounded to them by their Teacher, "grounded vppon the sacred Scriptures;" second, that the Church should "bynde themselues not toe offer toe induce or bring in any officer to ioyn with Samuel Stone against his will and right reason, and without his consent and approbation;" third, that the Church give Mr. Stone liberty to secure an assistant whom the Church should approve, "if Samuell Stone can give in sufficient testimony and evydence of . . . . his fitnes for that employment;" and, fourth, that the Church "procure some able phisitian to dwell and setle heere in Hartford before the next October."

This letter and propositions annexed, seem to have been

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[53] *Hist. Coll.*, pp. 73–77.

[54] He was now fifty-five years old. Dr. Rosseter of Guilford, the nearest educated physician, had been consulted heretofore by Mr. Stone; the town having voted, Jan. 7, 1656, £10 "towards Mr. Stone's charge of Phissick which he hath taken of Mr. Rosseter."

a firebrand in the rubbish of the old quarrel. The minority denounced it as a "breach of the pacification;"[55] angry words of crimination and recrimination followed between Mr. Stone and some of the Withdrawers;[56] and the controversy provoked Mr. Stone to refuse to administer the Sacrament,[57] and also to proceed to some acts of discipline.[58]

Whereupon the withdrawing party issued a letter to the churches of the Colony, enclosing a statement[59] of the grounds of their withdrawal, and asking a "favorable construction" of their course. This letter was sent to and publicly read in the several churches.

This procedure was resented by the majority, "as tending to the defamation of Mr Stone and the Ch: at Hartford, and to the breach of the peace of the Chs and comonwealth;" and a petition to the General Court was presented by seven members of the Church, denying the truthfulness of the statements in the Withdrawers' letter, and asking for "reliefe, helpe, and direction." The petition presents, also, distinct charges of violation of covenant, "not only made but lately renewed in a solemne manner," by the Withdrawers.[60]

Meantime, Mr. Stone replied to the circular letter of the

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[55] *Hist. Coll.*, p. 77. [56] *Ibid*, p. 105. [57] *Ibid*, p. 114.

[58] *Ibid*, p. 115. See also Hull's *Diary*, p. 183. "The breach at Hartford again renewed; God leaving Mr. Stone, their officer, to some indiscretion, as to neglect the Church's desire in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and to proceed to some acts of discipline toward the formerly dissenting brethren."

[59] The statement is lost. The letter is dated Nov. 11, 1657, and signed by John Webster, John Cullick, and William Goodwin. *Ibid*, pp. 77–78.

[60] *Ibid*, pp. 79–80. The paper is dated Dec. 4, 1657. The General Court postponed action; but Rev. Mr. Russell of Wethersfield, was summoned before the Quarter Court at Hartford to answer to reading the Withdrawers' letter in his church, (p. 78, *note*.) An additional token may here be noted of the absence of any recognizable connection between this quarrel and the Half-way Covenant controversy, in the fact that Mr. Russell, here censured, and to whose church the Withdrawers resorted, was himself, this same year, one of the Synod which endorsed the Half-way Covenant principle, as one of the four Connecticut delegates. *Col. Rec.*, i, 288.

Withdrawers, in a letter[61] which has suffered the usual fate of the documents on the Church side of the quarrel; and the Withdrawers issued another,[62] disclosing the fact that they had already propounded themselves for admission to the church at Wethersfield as members there. They were greatly strengthened and encouraged in this course by two elaborate papers[63]—drawn up, apparently, on enquiries made by the Wethersfield church respecting the propriety of admitting the Withdrawers to their fellowship—by Rev. John Higginson of Guilford, and Rev. John Davenport of New Haven.

Both these communications support the position of the Withdrawers in all the main points of the controversy up to the act of *withdrawing;* respecting which particular act, however, Mr. Higginson has "had some scruple," yet sees "not why they should bee so farre blamed . . . . as to bee disowned or deserted in their cause."[64] Mr. Davenport suggests an appeal to the old Council of June 1656, for approbation of the Withdrawers' reception to the Wethersfield church, "wch being done in a way of approving yor admittance of them," he sees no reason for withholding fellowship from the Wethersfield church for so receiving them, or from them for thus separating from the Hartford Church.[65]

At this juncture, however, the General Court once more put in a hand. It "ordered" on the 11th of March, 1658,[66] in view of the difficulties

"Betwixt the Ch: of Christ at Hartford and the with-

[61] *Ibid*, p. 86.
[62] *Ibid*, pp. 86–7. Feb. 12, 1658.
[63] *Ibid*, pp. 88–100.
[64] *Ibid*, p. 98.
[65] *Ibid*, p. 92.
[66] *Col. Records*, i, 312.

drawers, ... that there bee from henceforth an vtter cessation of all further p^rsecution, either on the Ch^s: part at Hartford toward the withdrawers from them; and on^p the other part that those that haue withdrawen from the Ch: at Hartford shall make a cessation in p^rsecuting their former p^rpositions to the Ch: at Wethersfeild or any other Ch: in reference to their joyning there in Ch: relation, vntill the matters in controuersy betwixt the Ch: of Hartford & the brethren that haue withdrawen bee brought to an issue in that way that the Court shall determine."

The Court also, at the same time, ordered an adjournment for a fortnight, to meet with the elders of the vicinity to consult "vpon some speedy course for the issuing the p^rsent troubles."

Probably as a result of this conference, the Court, on March 24th, the day of the adjournment spoken of above, further ordered[67] that the Church of Hartford and Mr. Stone should have an interview with the Withdrawers, attended by the governor, John Winthrop, and the deputy-governor, Thomas Welles, to see if they could not arrive at "some mutuall conclusions that may put an end vnto their vnhappy discention;" and in case they "cannot agree . . . that then there bee lett^rs sent to the Bay Eld^rs & to any among vs or in the other Iurisdiction, for advice what the Court should doe in the p^rmises."

On May 20th, following, the Court met again, and a petition was presented by Mr. Stone that certain "Quæstions here p^rsented may be sillogistically reasoned before this hono^rd Court," by himself and some representative of the Withdrawers, "face to face." The points he wished argued were that the Council of June 1656, "is vtterly cancild and of no force;" that there had been "no violation of the last

[67] *Col. Rec.*, i, 314.

agreemᵗ," made in the presence of the elders of the Bay in April, 1657, on the part of the Church of Hartford, or its Teacher; that "the withdrawen Brethren" had violated it; that they were still "members of the Ch: of Christ at Hartford;" that their withdrawing "is a sin exceeding scandalous & dreadful;" and that the question at issue was a question "between the Ch: . . and the withdrawen pʳsons," and "not in the hands of the Churches" generally.[68]

But, by this time, the Withdrawers seem to have given up the struggle. On the same day on which the above petition of Mr. Stone was ordered on record by the Court, Capt. Cullick and William Goodwin, being in Boston for the purpose, petitioned the General Court there, in their own and other's behalf, for leave to settle up the River, out of the jurisdiction of Connecticut, and within the "pious and godly government" of Massachusetts.[69] That Court, on the 25th of the month, gave them leave, but coupled the permission with the condition that "they submit themselves to a due and orderly hearing of the differences between themselues and their brethren."

Such "due and orderly hearing" the General Court of Connecticut undertook to provide for; for, on August 18th, 1658, it ordered that both parties to the controversy should formulate their grievances and debate them among themselves; *or* should debate them publicly before six elders, three chosen by each party, as final referees; in which alternative, if either party declined to choose, the Court would choose for it. The Church party refused to choose. So the Court chose for it, and the elders designated were requested to meet in Hartford on the 17th of September.[70]

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[68] *Ibid*, p. 317.
[69] *Hist. Hadley* (Judd), pp. 18–19.
[70] *Col. Rec.*, pp. 320–321.

The Court, in furtherance of the scheme, wrote by the hand of Daniel Clark its secretary, to the churches of Boston, Cambridge, and Roxbury, requesting the presence of "Mr Norton, Mr Michil, Mr Cobbit, and Mr Damforth."[71]

Dr. Trumbull rests the responsibility for the failure of this device, on the Hartford Church, where, possibly, it belongs, as the Church had, apparently, not approved of it from the outset.[72] Nevertheless this is not certain, for the Teacher seems to have prepared for the discussion; there remaining on record, under date of Sept. 7th, ten days before the assembly was to gather, a list of eleven specifications against the Withdrawers; mainly, amplifications of the points of his petition, put on record in May previous, but with some others added.[73]

So the autumn and winter drifted by; the difficulty yet uncomposed, and the people who were planning to go up to Hadley, not yet having secured the "due and orderly" settlement of their difficulties, on which their permission to come within the "godly" jurisdiction of Massachusetts depended.

Something must be done. So the General Court interfered again. On the 9th of March, 1659, it passed this extraordinary resolve:[74]

"This Court taking into consideration the continued troubles and distance twixt the Ch: at Hartford and the wthdrawen party, after further indeauours for a concurrenc and vnanimity to cal in some help from abroad, and findeing their labours herin invalid, haue now ordered and appoynted a council to be called by ye Court (leaueing each party to yre liberty whether they wil send or noe,) to be helpful in issueing the Questions in controuersy.

[71] *Hist. Coll.*, p. 101. Aug. 26, '58.
[72] *Hist. Conn.*, i, 306.
[73] *Hist. Coll.*, pp. 104–105.
[74] *Col. Records*, i, 333-334.

"Its ordered that those Chs: (whose Elders were requested to come hither)[75] should be desired by L^rs from y^e Secretary, in the name of the Court, to send vs one from each Ch: of their ablest instruments, to be p^rsent at Hartford, by the third of June next, to assist in heareing and issueing these differences.

"Its alsoe ordered and expected by the Court, that the Quæst^s in controversy shalbe publiquely disputed in the p^rsence of the Council according to the former order.[76] And y^t each party, both y^e Church at Hartford and y^e withdrawers, shal ioyntly concur in bearing the charges of the former Council, and in p^rpareing and provideing for this y^t is now to be called."

This scheme of a Council appointed by the Court, "leaueing each party to y^re liberty whether they wil send or noe," but charging its expenses on the parties who had no voice in its call, failed, as it deserved to do. Letters were, indeed, sent by the Court, over the hand of Daniel Clarke, its secretary, asking for a meeting at Hartford, on the 3d of June; letters, however, which plainly showed that the parties concerned were not agreed in the invitation. "Both parties are desirous to have y^e case come to trial, but refuse to act ioyntly in and about y^e way of calling for help."[77]

The churches of Boston and Roxbury, at least, declined to come at such a governmental summons, which "neyther the Church (or major part) nor yet the part y^t is w^thdrawne (much less both of them)" had had any consent in inviting; concluding that an assent, under such circumstances, would be "little lesse then taking up an holy and sacred ordinance of God in vaine."[78] Very possibly, other churches took a

[75] And who came in April, 1657.

[76] The abortive scheme of Aug. 18, 1658.

[77] *Hist. Coll.*, pp. 105–107.

[78] *Ibid*, pp. 108–109. The letter is signed by John Wilson and John Eliot, pastors of the Boston and Roxbury churches respectively, and their associates, representative of the churches, and bears date May 19, 1659.

similar view of the case. At all events, the June Council of 1659, never assembled.[79]

Convinced apparently, at last, of the need of some show of coöperation by the parties to the case, in anything fit to

[79] Dr. Trumbull's very explicit statement of the fact and results of a council on June 3d, has been followed by Felt, and by others even since the discovery of the *Mss.* published in the second volume of the Connecticut Historical Society. Dr. Trumbull's mistake was probably owing to a misinterpretation of the language used in the resolution of the Court of June 15th, 1659, as an order calling back the Council invited March 9th, and which was to have met, had it met at all, on June 3d; instead of being a call of a Council by agreement of the Church and the Withdrawers, composed of the churches whose elders met in Hartford in April, 1657, and two other churches nominated by the Withdrawers. But that he was mistaken in a statement which, in its subsequent acceptance, rests on no other authority than his declaration, seems evident: 1. From the inherent improbability of a re-summons, in June, by a new act of the Court, of a council *ex hypothesi* held so recently as June 3d, previous, for consideration of the same matters; 2. Because the resolution of the Court, of June 15th, speaking of the elders and messengers "that were of the former Council at Hartford," includes Boston and Roxbury—language appropriate if the council of April 1657 is referred to, but wholly inappropriate if a Council on June 3d is supposed referred to, as those churches distinctly declined to attend; 3. Because the number of the churches invited on the 15th of June, 1659, is identical with that of the churches represented in the Council of April, 1657 (see Barding's memorial to the General Court, *Hist. Coll.*, p. 79), with the addition, distinctly specified, of two more on "the nomination of the Withdrawers;" 4. Because the "Sentence of the Councell held at Boston Sept. 26, 1659," which gives final summation of the whole case, makes no reference in its careful enumeration of the means hitherto used in the case, to any Council in June previous, but speaks only of the "great labour of the Reverend Councill held in Hartford in '56; the poore service of ye church Messengers from hence in '57, the severall occasionall Letters," etc., an unaccountable omission had any Council been held in June, 1659; 5. Because Hubbard, who was of the Council of September 26, 1659, and *ex hypothesi* of the June Council, makes no allusion to any such Council when treating of this subject (see his *History*, p. 570); 6. Because the reference in the resolution of the General Court, of June 15, 1659, to "the experim^{t} y^{t} hath been made" of the labors of a former assembly, "and the good issue y^{t} was effected thereby," is fully satisfied by the pacification "subscribed, read, voted and owned solemnly, before God, Angels and Men" (see *Hist. Coll.*, p. 117) in April, 1657; 7. Because the theory of a Council in June rests solely on the statement of Dr. Trumbull; introduces confusion rather than order into the narrative; is opposed to some main facts of it, *e. g.* the refusals of the Boston and Roxbury churches, and involves the other churches in the condition of having yielded to a call the irregularity of which Boston and Roxbury distinctly pointed out.

be called a Congregational Council, the General Court made one more endeavor—and in this particular Church trouble, its last—to provide for a settlement.

On June 15, 1659, the Court took this action :[79]

"This Court iudgeth it necessary that several of y^e^ Ch^s^ of X^t^ in the Massatuset should be sent vnto, and desired to afford the help of their Reu^r^end Elders and worthy messengers that were of the former Council at Hartford, vnto whom are added, by the nomination of the withdrawers, the teaching Elders of Dorchester and Water Towne. The Ch^s^ to be sent to, whose help is requested, are Boston, Camb:, Roxb:, Dorchester, Ipsw:, Dedham, Water T:, Charles Towne, Sudbury; seauen whereof the withdrawers consented to; the Court and Ch: assenting to and desiringe all or so many as the Lord shall incline or enable to attend the worke; vnto whose decisue power, the withdrawen partie is required, the Ch: at Hartford freely engaging to submit according to the order of ye Gosple. . . . . The Council fore-mentioned is requested to be at Hartford the 19th of August, the time of their hearing the matters in differenc publiquely debated, according to former ord^r^, to be with al convenient speed after their comeing vp."

For some reason the Council did not meet at Hartford on the 19th of August, but at Boston on the 26th of September. It was composed of nine churches and seventeen members.[80] Both parties appeared before the Council "in their

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[79] *Col. Rec.*, p. 339.

[80] Boston: Rev. John Wilson, Rev. John Norton, and Edward Tyng.
Cambridge: Rev. Chas. Chauncey, President of the College, and Rev. Jonathan Mitchell.
Roxbury: Rev. John Eliot, Rev. Saml. Danforth, and Isaac Heath.
Dorchester: Rev. Richard Mather.
Dedham: Rev. John Allin.
Charlestown: Rev. Zech. Symmes, Rev. Thomas Shepard, and Richard Russell.
Sudbury: Rev. Edward Browne.
Ipswich: Rev. Thomas Cobbett, Rev. William Hubbard.
Watertown: Rev. John Sherman.

representatives," and the "grievances of both sides" were "fully heard."[81] It continued at least ten days in session, and probably somewhat longer, its "Sentence" being dated October 7th.

The document which expresses the verdict of the Council on the melancholy business, was apparently drawn up by the "matchless" Jonathan Mitchell of Cambridge.[82] Too long by far to quote, its conclusions may be summarized. The Council mildly censured Mr. Stone's action in the "non-administration of ye Lord's Supper" as "irregular, because he was therein defective unto the execution of his office & fulfilling of His Ministry." It judged "that His Desire of a Dismission so speedily after the pacification, before the joynts of that dis-united Body so lately set were considerably settled, was unseasonable." It pronounced "his proposalls of Engagements unto the Church at such a Time . . . . both unseasonable and inexpedient." It found too much evidence of Mr. Stone's "Rigid Handling of divers Brethren," particularly specifying the "Honoured M^r^ Webster," and "Brother Bacon." It absolved Mr. Stone from the charge of "nullifying the instrument of pacification," but did find him chargeable with "some Commissions which in their owne nature tended to the unsettlement of y^e^ pacification." It summed up its judgment concerning the Church thus: "So far as the premises impute blame to M^r^ Stone, the brethren of the church that have adhered to him, acted with him, and defended him therein, cannot be excused from being blameworthy also."

Turning to "the Grievances presented by M^r^ Stone & the Brethren of the Church," the Council find the Withdraw-

[81] *Hull's Diary*, p. 188.

[82] See *Hist. Coll.*, pp. 112–125, for full text of the paper.

ers chargeable with "breaking the pacification," and with "rending from the Church of Christ at Hartford in a schismaticall way: and their sin therein is exceeding scandalous." But it palliates their fault "because they were led thereunto by a mistake concerning the Act of the Reverend Councell held at Hartford, June '56, to have been in force enabling them thereunto." It declares the Withdrawers "are still members of the Church at Hartford;" to be culpable in publishing papers of an "Offensive or Accusatory" character against "the Church and their Teacher;" and as being "irregular"—such of them as had done so—in "joyning to another Church," which "irregular" act is a "nullity."

The Council expresses the hope that mutual "satisfaction" be given, and that there "be a return of the Dissenters into Communion with the Church of Hartford as formerly." But if any still desired to remove, the Council's "Advice and Determination is that the Church forthwith . . . . give them their Dismission, & that such as have joyned themselves to another church doe solemnly renew their covenant." The Council ends with a pathetic exhortation to love and unity, and not to "turne againe to folly."

It appears that the representatives of both parties present at Boston submitted with good grace to the judgment; a disposition "which was publicly manifested before they departed home."[83] Most of those known as Withdrawers, led by Wm. Goodwin and John Webster, speedily removed to Hadley, and the great quarrel in the Hartford Church was over.

The quarrel began, probably, so far as anything visible was a beginning, in a question of personal preference for a pulpit candidate; it found expression in a dispute touching the offi-

[83] *Hull's Diary, ut supra*, p. 188.

cial prerogative of the two chief officers of the Church; it broadened out as it went into a controversy concerning the claims of the brotherhood and the rights of a minority, and of the proper methods of ecclesiastical redress when those rights were infringed; it brought up many interesting questions of Congregational order, but the personal element was all along the baffling and potential quantity.

Mr. Goodwin was a very able and reverend man. But we remember that before the Church left Massachusetts he had been reproved in open Court for his "unreverend speech."

Mr. Stone, too, was an exceedingly reverend and able man. But he obviously took very high views of the prerogatives of his office. His conception of ministerial authority belonged more to the period in which he had been educated in England, than to the new era into which he had come in New England. His own graphic expression, "A speaking aristocracy in the face of a silent democracy," is the felicitous phrase which sets forth at once the view he took of church government, and the source of all his woes. On the whole, respecting the controversy itself which turmoiled the Church so long, the impartial verdict of history must be, that spite of many irregularities and doubtless a good deal of ill-temper on both sides, the general weight of right and justice was with the defeated and emigrating minority.

Mr. Stone survived this passage in his experience about four years. They were years of seeming harmony in the Church and comfort to himself. Within about a twelvemonth after the adjustment of the long Church quarrel, an associate Pastor was settled in connection with Mr. Stone—the Rev. John Whiting, of whom there will be occasion hereafter more fully to speak. Apparently the main part of the ministerial work was devolved, in Mr. Stone's increasing age and

feebleness, upon his younger colleague; for on January 26, 1663, the town, by its vote, granted "Mr. Stone sixty pounds and Mr. Whiting eighty pounds for the year past and rest to come." Mr. Stone did not survive this year, but died on the 20th of July, 1663, at the same age as his predecessor, 61 years.

One matter, however, belonging to this epoch of Stone's and Whiting's joint ministry, needs here to be spoken of before the first Teacher of this Church passes finally out of sight. It is the most distinct instance of the contact with the Hartford Church[84] of that great horror of the period to which it belongs alike in Old England and in New—the delusion of Witchcraft.

The story, which belongs to the winter of 1662–3, will be told, chiefly, in the language of Rev. John Whiting, one of the actors in the affair, as written by him, twenty years after the events narrated, in a letter to Rev. Increase Mather, of Boston:[85]

"The subject was Anne Cole (the daughter of John Cole a godly man among us, then next neighbor to the man and woman[86] that afterward suffered for witchcraft) who had for sometime been afflicted and in some feares about her spirit-

[84] Fourteen years before, in December 1648, Mary Johnson, having been tried at Hartford, had been found "guilty of familliarity with the Deuill," chiefly upon her "owne confession," and been executed. During "her *imprisonment* the famous Mr. *Stone* was at great pains to promote her conversion from the *Devil* to *God*;" but there is no probability that the matter came any nearer the Church than this service of its minister. Compare *Col. Records*, i, pp. 171 and 143; and see, as to the story itself, *Magnalia*, ii, 396.

[85] Whiting's letter is dated at Hartford, December 4, 1682, and was written to forward an enterprise of Mather's, in the *Recording of Illustrious Providences*, which had been endorsed by a "generall meeting of the ministers" of the Bay Colony, May 12, 1681. Mather told the story in his *Remarkable Providences*. It is also, in abridged form, in the *Magnalia*, ii, pp. 389–390. Whiting's letter is in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Col.*, vol. xxxvii.

[86] Nathaniel and Rebecca Greensmith, concerning whose trial and affairs see a later *note*.

uall estate. . . . . The matter is, That Anno, 1662, This Anne Cole (living in her ffather's family) was taken with strange fitts, wherein she (or rather the Devill, as 'tis judged, making use of her lips) held a discourse for a considerable time. The general purport of it was to this purport, that a company of familiars of the evil one (who were named in the discourse that passed from her) were contriving to carry on their mischievous designes against some, and especially against her, mentioning sundry wayes they would take to that end; As that they would afflict her body, spoile her name, hinder her marriage, &c., wherein the generall answer made among them was, She runs to her Rock. This method having continued for some howers, The conclusion was, Let us confound her Language, she may tell no more tales. And then after some time of unintelligible muttering, the discourse passed into a Dutch tone (a family of Dutch then living in the town).[87] . . . . Judicious M^r^ Stone (who is now with God) being by when the latter discourse passed, declared it in his thoughts impossible that one not familiarly acquainted with the Dutch (which Anne Cole had not at all been) should so exactly imitate the Dutch tone in the pronunciation of English."

The matter was noised about, and the ministers, and perhaps some others, came to see the bewitched girl:

"Sundry times such kind of discourse was uttered by her, which was very aweful and amazing to the hearers: M^r^ Sam^ll^ Hooker was present the first time, and M^r^ Joseph Haines, who wrote what was said, so did the Relator also,

[87] The Dutch family bore the name of Varleth. Caspar Varleth, the head of the house, died in 1663. A daughter of his, just about this time, was accused of witchcraft. A letter signed P. Stuyvesant, dated "Amsterdam in N. Netherlant, the 13 of X^br^: 1662," is extant, addressed to the "Honourable debuty Governour, & Court of Magistracy att Hardfort," wherein the writer pleads for his distressed sister-in-law, "Judith Varleth, jmprisoned as we are jmformed, vppon pretend accusation of wicherye." Copy by C. J. Hoadly from *Col. Boundaries*, ii, doc. 1.

when he came to the house, sometime after the discourse began."[88]

The hysteric young woman also disturbed the public meetings which she attended, especially a prayer meeting appointed particularly in her behalf, by her outcries and "violent bodily motions;" in which public disturbances she was seconded by "two other women, who had also strange fitts." The conclusion of beholders was that Anne Cole was bewitched. Unhappily, however, in her incoherent babblement, she had mentioned the names of sundry persons as concerned in working her harm, and among them, of her next door neighbors, the Greensmiths.

"The consequence was, That one of the persons presented as actiue in the forementioned discourse (A lewd, ignorant, considerably aged woman) being a prisoner upon suspition of witchcraft, the Court sent for Mr Haines and myselfe to read what we had written; which when Mr Haines had done (the prisoner being present) she forthwith and freely confessed those things to be true, that she (and other persons named in the discourse) had familiarity with the Devill. Being asked whether she had made an express covenant with him she answered she had not, onely as she promised to go with him when he called (which she had accordingly done sundry times). But that the Devill told her that at Christmass they would have a merry meeting, and then the covenant should be drawn and subscribed: Thereupon the forementioned Mr Stone (being then in court) with much weight and earnestness laid forth the exceeding heinousness and hazard of that dreadful sin."

The poor, half-crazed, old creature was led on to confess

[88] Rev. Samuel Hooker, son of the Pastor of the First Church, had, about eighteen months before, been ordained pastor at Farmington. He was a classmate of Rev. John Whiting, the "Relator" in this affair. Mr. Joseph Haynes was at this time, probably, studying theology at his home at Hartford with Mr. Stone, and perhaps already had begun to preach at Wethersfield, where he certainly was a few months later. He was installed in Hartford in 1664.

various revolting impossibilities, with the narration of which it is not necessary to soil these pages; but the result of the trial was,[89] that

"The concurrent evidence brought the woman and her husband to their death as the Devill's familiars, and most of the other persons mentioned in the discourse made their escape into another part of the country."

It is rather poor consolation, after the tragical issue of Anne Cole's hysterical chatterings, to be told by Mr. Whiting that

"After this execution of some[90] and escape of others, the good woman had abatement of her sorrows, ... is joined to the church, and therein been a humble walker for many yeares."[91]

The melancholly controversy, which occupies so large a chapter in Mr. Stone's ministry, and for which it cannot be denied that he was largely responsible, is liable to hide from us the many admirable qualities of a man who was certainly,

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[89] The trial was at Hartford, December 30, 1662. The "*Inditement*" charged that Nathaniel Greensmith and his wife Rebecca had "entertained familiarity with Satan;" and by his help had "acted things in a preternaturall way byond humaine abilities in a naturall course." The jury found both guilty; and the poor old wife "confesseth in open Court that she is guilty of y^e^ charge laid agaynst her." The "*Magestrates*" on this trial were "M^r^ Allyn, Mod^r^, M^r^ Willys, M^r^ Treat, M^r^ Woolcot, Dan^ll^ Clark, et Sec: M^r^ Jo: Allyn." The *Jury* were "Edw: Griswold, Walter Filer, Ensigne Olmstead, Sam^ll^ Boreman, Goodwin Winterton, John Cowles, Sam^ll^ Marshall, Sam^ll^ Hale, Nathan^ll^ Willet, John Hart, John Wadsworth, Robert Webster." The culprits were executed January 25, 1662–3, and the inventory of Greensmith's estate, amounting to £181, 18*s.*, 5*d.*, is on record in Hartford probate office.

[90] It seems probable that Mary Barnes, of Farmington, was executed on the same occasion as the Greensmiths. She was indicted January 6, 1662–3, a week after the Greensmith trial, before the same magistrates and nearly the same jury, and found guilty of witchcraft.

[91] Anne Cole went, in the division of the Hartford Church, with Mr. Whiting and the party which formed the Second Church. She subsequently married Andrew Benton and had several children. Her Father, John Cole, lived, in 1669, on the South Side, having been made a Freeman of the Colony in 1657; rented, in 1661, "y^e^ estate y^t^ formerly belonged to Edward Hopkins Esq^r^;" and was a man of some public trust. *Col. Rec.*, i, 297, 370; ii, 157, 518.

spite of all imperfections, a man of marked abilities and of sincere godliness.

Mr. Stone was a good talker. He was fond of anecdote and had capacity for pat and epigrammatic expression.

He was, indeed, in the few extended writings which have been preserved to us—as a catechism [92] still extant; and a manuscript body of divinity, of which several copies remain; [93] and one tract on church government, published in London in 1652 [94]—a very tedious writer, by reason of the scholastic method of his thoughts and composition. But all accounts agree as to his conversational powers,[95] and his influence over men. And it can well be seen how it may have been so. The title of that church-government tract, just referred to, "A Congregational Church a Catholike Visible Church," and that other phrase expressive of his high-church notions of Congregationalism—quoted a little earlier in this chapter—are quite unforgetable expressions; sharp as were ever coined by a master of sentences.

That Mr. Stone must have been a man of popular qualities, is witnessed to, not only by the feeling toward him of the soldiers of the Pequot expedition, in which he bore a part, and for which the Colony granted him a generous bestowment of land; [96] but the very name of the Town itself is a standing memorial of him; the place of Mr. Stone's birth, being chosen, rather than that of any other

[92] Published in 1684.

[93] One in Watkinson Library, Hartford. This body of divinity is said by Mather to have been often transcribed by students for the ministry, and to have "*made* some of our most considerable *divines*." *Magnalia*, i, p. 395.

[94] "A Congregational Church is a Catholike Visible Church." *London*, MDCLII.

[95] *Magnalia*, i, p. 394.

[96] *Col. Records*, i, p. 413.

of the founders, as the name of the new home in the wilderness.

Of the earnestness of his religious feeling and his zeal for his Church's spiritual welfare, Cotton Mather speaks enthusiastically in his short life of this "*Doctor Irrefragabilis;*" but the cooler page of dry historic chronicle has preserved for us a single fact, even more suggestive than the paragraphs of the eulogist. Ten years after Mr. Stone was in his grave, Rev. Jas. Fitch of Norwich wrote to the Council of Connecticut, in reference to an appointed Fast: "We intend, God willing, to take that very daye, solemnly to renew our covenant in church-state, according to the example in Ezra's time & as was sometimes practiced in Hartford congregation by Mr. Stone, not long after Mr. Hooker's death." [97]

While of the brotherly and social quality of Mr. Stone's nature, we have a pleasant hint in his saying, "*Heaven is the more desirable, for such company as* Hooker *and* Shepard *and* Hains, who are *got there before me.*" He was buried beside his more distinguished colleague, the slab above him testifying:

"New England's glory & her radient Crowne,
Was he who now in softest bed of downe
Till gloriovs Resvrection morn appeare,
Doth safely, sweetly sleepe in Iesvs here.
In Natvre's solid art, and reasoning well,
'Tis knowne beyond compare he did excell,
Errors corrvpt by sinnewovs dispvte
He did oppvgne, and clearly did confvte.
Above all things he Christ his Lord preferd,
Hartford thy richest Jewel's here interd." [98]

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[97] *Col. Records*, ii, p. 417, *note*.

[98] Several metrical "composures" in reference to Mr. Stone, before and after his death, are preserved, two of which, together with Mr. Stone's Will, and Inventory of estate will be found in Appendix V.

CHAPTER VIII.

WHITING AND HAYNES AND THE DIVISION OF THE CHURCH.

It has been seen[1] that Rev. John Whiting was ordained colleague with Mr. Stone in the charge of the Hartford Church sometime, probably, in 1660.[2]

The new minister thus set in office was a son of William Whiting, one of the early settlers of the town, a Magistrate, and from 1641 till his death, the Treasurer of the Colony.[3] Already the churches of New England were beginning to turn to their own children as their ministers; and already the college at Cambridge was bearing fruit.

John Whiting was probably born in 1635, and was educated at Harvard, graduating in 1653, having three other Hartford boys—Samuel Willis, Samuel Hooker, and John Stone—for his classmates.[4] He continued his connection with

[1] *Ante*, p. 175.

[2] A vote of the Town, of February 11, 1661, appropriated "90 pounds to Mr. Whiting for this year's labour, and 10 pounds for the transporting of himself, family, and goods from the Bay to Hartford."

[3] He died in July, 1647, of the same epidemical sickness which carried off Mr. Hooker.

[4] Samuel Willis was son of George Willis, Magistrate and Governor of this Colony. He was born in England in 1632, and died in 1709. He lived in Hartford, a man of trust and public honor.

Samuel Hooker was son of Rev. Thomas Hooker; born 1635; became pastor at Farmington 1661, dying in 1697.

John Stone was doubtless son of Rev. Samuel Stone, by his first wife, who died in 1640. He went to England and died there.

Besides these three townsmen of Whiting, Thomas Shepard of Cambridge,

the college apparently a year after taking his Bachelor degree. He lived some time at Cambridge where, with his wife Sybil, daughter of Deacon Edward Collins of that place, he united with the Cambridge church, and had children baptized.[5]

In the years 1657–1659 he maintained some kind of ministerial relationship to the church of Salem, assisting Rev. Edward Norris, who had become aged and infirm. The people of Salem would gladly have retained him as pastor, and made overtures to him for that purpose; but without permanent results.[6] His coming to Hartford as Mr. Stone's associate appears to have been attended with public interest, as the Town on his coming voted to build a gallery in the meeting-house, on the east side of the Church, to "cost twenty-two or three pounds."

During Mr. Stone's survival Mr. Whiting, as has been said, seems to have done the larger share of the work; but at Mr. Stone's death the people were still too full of the primitive idea of a dual ministry to think of devolving the labor on Mr. Whiting alone.

Consequently almost immediately upon the decease of the first Teacher, Rev. Joseph Haynes was invited to an associate ministry with Rev. John Whiting. Mr. Haynes, like his associate, was a Hartford man. He was son of Governor John Haynes by his second wife, Mabel Harlakenden. He was born about 1641, and graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1658.[7] He preached awhile in 1663 and 1664 in

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born 1635, son of Rev. Thomas Shepard of the same place, was of the same class. He was afterward minister of the church in Charlestown, and died in 1677. See Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, Vol. I, Class of 1653.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 344.

[6] Essex Institute *Hist. Coll*, ix, pp. 203–204, 210, 217, etc.

[7] Haynes had among his classmates, Samuel Talcott of Hartford; born about 1635, son of John Talcott, an original settler; Samuel Shepard, born 1641,

Wethersfield, and some time in the latter year became a minister of the Hartford Church. At first Mr. Whiting received £80, and Mr. Haynes £70, for recompense; but on January 28, 1666, the town voted the two ministers the same sum of £70 each, in recognition of their services;[8] a vote which was repeated year by year during their joint ministry.

Here then were two Hartford young men — Whiting at his settlement was twenty-five, and Haynes at his settlement four years later, was twenty-three — of common associations and mutual fellowships in town and college, united in the pastoral care of a Church which was the mother of them both. What fairer prospect could appear for a happy and useful associate ministry? Nevertheless two years after the settlement of the younger man we find the two Pastors in open conflict, the Church divided into parties, and an ecclesiastical warfare in lively progress, which in less than four years more resulted in the permanent rupture of the body known as the Church of Hartford into two separate ecclesiastical organizations.

A vivid picture of one scene of the drama in June 1666, just when the sharper phase of the struggle was beginning, remains to us from the pen of John Davenport of New Haven.[9] The curtain lifts on the spectacle of "young Mr Heynes," sending "3 of his partie to tell Mr Whiting, that the nexte Lecture-day he would preach about his way of bap-

son of Rev. Thomas Shepard by his second wife, Joanna, daughter of Rev. Thomas Hooker; and Joseph Eliot, born 1638, son of Rev. John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians. Talcott settled at Wethersfield, where he was a useful and honored citizen and public officer; Shepard became minister at Rowley, and died at the age of 26; Eliot became minister at Guilford, where he died at the age of 55.

[8] *Town Records*. It is pleasant to note, at the same date, that the town had not forgotten Mrs. Stone, but voted her £20, having in 1664 voted her £25.

[9] *Mass. Hist Coll.*, *3d Series*, x, 59–62.

tizing, and would begin the practicing of it on that day." Lecture-day came. Mr. Haynes preached. "Water was prepared for baptism" which, Mr. Davenport says, "was never administred in a weeke day in that Church, before." But up stood the senior Pastor, Mr. Whiting, and "as his place and duty required, testifyed against it, and refused to consent." A wordy contest began. Rev. John Warham of Windsor, now an old man, was present, probably by request of the senior Pastor, Mr. Whiting. Presuming on the "common concernment to all the churches" of the matter in debate, he attempted to speak, but was "rudely hindered" by the exclamation "What hath M^r^ Warham to do to speake in our Church matters?" The meeting apparently broke up in a tumult, but was followed by a challenge from the younger to the older Pastor for a public "dispute about it with M^r^ Whiting the next Lecture day;" an ecclesiastical contest which probably came off according to programme — as Mr. Davenport says it was "agreed upon" — but of which no account remains to us; and of the utility and even decency of which, as between two Pastors of the same flock, it may be permitted to entertain doubts.

This contest between Mr. Whiting and Mr. Haynes about Baptism was only an incident in a general conflict of opinion and behavior in the New England churches at large at the period in question. To understand it, and to understand the movement of which it was only a pictorial incident, it will be necessary to take a survey of some antecedent facts of New England church history.

The original theory upon which the churches were gathered upon this side of the Atlantic, was the personal regenerate character of all the membership. "Visible saints only are fit Matter appointed by God to make up a visible Church

of Christ," [10] was the language of Mr. Hooker, which may be said to express the generally accepted view of the primitive New England churches.[11] The founders of these churches had come from lands where a different theory of membership prevailed. All the baptized inhabitants of an English, German, or Genevan parish, were accounted members of the there existing Church, even if manifestly destitute of Christian character. This was a condition of things against which the New England fathers desired to guard. They attempted to do it by vigorously applying, at the doorway of entrance to the churches they established, the tests of visible saintship, found in regenerate character. These tests were, to a considerable extent, the outgrowth of a peculiar and high-strained type of theology, and demanded a special and definite religious "experience."

The attempt was well intended, and was what the past acquaintance with the parish-system, on the part of the New England founders, almost shut them up to. But administered as the endeavor was, in the application of those rigorous religious standards of determination by which alone entrance to the Church was allowed to adult applicants, and by which approach was granted to children born in the Church to the full privileges of church membership, it was attended by two inevitable consequences. It left a very considerable number of adult people, of good moral and even religious character, outside of any church-fellowship at all; deprived of the privileges of the sacraments, and having no voice in the selection

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[10] *Survey*, p. 14.

[11] Some ministers, as the pastor and teacher at Newbury, and at his first coming, Rev. Mr. Warham of Windsor, seem to have held a conception of the Church more kindred to the English "parish-way." See Dr. Fuller's letter to Gov. Bradford, June 28, 1630: "Mr. Warham holds that the visible church may consist of a mixed people, godly and openly ungodly." Young's *Chronicles, Mass.*, p. 347, *note*.

of ministers whom they were nevertheless legally bound to support.[12] And it left a growing body of youth, who, having been baptized in infancy and so accounted in a manner members of the Church, were not consciously regenerate, and therefore not welcomed to the Lord's table, nor supposed capable of presenting their children in turn for baptism.

The dangers which grew out of this condition of affairs were discerned by some quite early.[13]

Indeed as early as 1646, the perception of the evil which this state of things involved, was the basis of a formal petition to the General Court of Massachusetts for redress; the petitioners pleading that they "were denied the liberty of subjects both in church and commonwealth; themselves and their children debarred from the seals of the covenant, except they would submit to such a way of entrance and church covenant as their consciences would not admit." [14]

The difficulty was thus a two-fold one, having reference to adult people never "confederated" in churches of the New England way; and to the children of "confederating parents" who came to years of discretion and maturity without having attained the necessary and gracious experience to become full participants of church privileges.

Quite a number of the ministers of early New England

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[12] The New England device of a Parish-system, co-ordinate with the Church and having an associate voice with the Church in the choice of a minister, is an attempt partially to meet one portion of this difficulty.

[13] Thomas Lechford's exaggerated prophecy, uttered about 1640 (*Plaine Dealing*, Preface, p. 7) of the result to be looked for in "twenty years," when the unbaptized would "rise up against the Church and break forth into many grievous distempers among themselves," had in it some gleam of truthful foresight.

[14] This petition, which much accords with that of William Pitkin and others to the General Court of Connecticut eighteen years later, was signed by several very respectable inhabitants of the Colony; but action was postponed, "the Court being then near an end, and the matter being very weighty." Winthrop's *Journal*, ii, 319–321.

recognized the danger, and were inclined to take such a view of the Church, and of the relationship of the baptized to the Church, as would meet that part, at least, of the difficulty in the case which was experienced by parents who, having been themselves baptized but not admitted to the Lord's Supper, desired baptism for their children. So early as Dec. 16, 1634, Rev. John Cotton wrote to the church of Dorchester:

"The case of conscience which you propounded to our Consideration [to wit whether a Grand Father being a member of a Christian church might claim Baptism to his Grandchild whose next parents be not recieved into church-covenant] has been deliberately treated of in our church Assembled together publickly in the name of Christ. *And upon due and serious discourse about the point it seemed good to us all with one accord*, and agreeable as we believe to the Word of the Lord, that the Grand Father may lawfully claim that privilege to his Grand Child in such a case." [15]

In 1645 Richard Mather of Dorchester wrote:

"It is not the Parents' fitness for the *Lord's Supper* that is the ground of baptizing their Children: but the Parents and so their Children being in the Covenant, this is that which is the main ground thereof: and so long as this doth continue not dissolved by any *Church censure* against them, nor by any *scandalous sin* of theirs, so long the Children may be baptized." [16]

In 1648 Rev. Ralph Partridge of the Plymouth Colony, presented a draft of a Platform of Discipline to the Cambridge Synod, then in session, in which he lays down this doctrine:

"The persons unto whom the Sacrament of Baptisme is

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[15] Increase Mather's *First Principles of New England*, p. 2. Mr. Hooker never acceded to this view of his early associate. He argues at great length against the possibility of extending the privilege of baptism to any but the immediate offspring of the parents in Covenant. See *Survey*, part iii, pp. 9–27.

[16] *First Principles*, p. 11.

dispensed (and as we concieve ought to be) are such as being of years and converted from their Sins to the Faith of Jesus Christ do joyn in Communion and Fellowship with a particular visible Church, as also the children of such Parent or Parents as having laid hold of the Covenant of grace (in the judgement of Charity) are in a *Visible Covenant* with his Church, and all their seed after them that cast not off the *Covenant* of God by some Scandalous and obstinate going on in sin." [17]

In 1649 Thomas Shepherd of Cambridge, is represented by Mather thus:

"He does assert and prove that Children are members of the *Visible Church*, and that their membership continues when they are Adult, and that the Children of Believers are to be accounted of the Church until they positively reject the Gospel, and that the membership of children hath no tendency in it to pollute the Church, any more now than under the *Old Testament*, and that Children are under Church discipline, and that some persons *Adult* may be admitted to Baptisme and yet not to the Lord's Supper." [18]

In 1650 Mr. Stone of the Hartford Church wrote:

"I concieve (saith Mr. *Stone*) that Children of *Church Members* have right to Church membership by virtue of their *Father's Covenant*. . . . . If they be presented to a Church and Claim their Interest they cannot be denyed. . . . I spake with Mr *Warham* and we question not the right of Children, but we concieve it would be Comfortable to have some Concurrence, which is that we have waited for a Long Time." [19]

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[17] *Ibid*, p. 23.

[18] *Ibid*, p. 22.

[19] *Ibid*, p. 9. Mr. Warham, to whom Mr. Stone refers, occupied at different times different positions on this subject. He was a member of the Assembly of 1657, which endorsed this theory of baptism, and he began the practice of it "January 31, 1657[8], and went on in the practice of it until March 19, 1664[5]; on which day he declared to the church that he had met with such arguments against the practice . . . . that he must forbear until he had weighed arguments

In 1651 Rev. Mr. Prudden of Milford wrote:

"Touching the desire of such members Children as desire to have their Children baptized, it is a thing I do not yet hear practiced, but for my own part I am inclined to think it cannot justly be denyed, because their next Parents however not admitted to the *Lord's Supper* stand as compleat members of the Church, within the Covenant." [20]

So in 1652 Rev. Henry Smith of Wethersfield wrote:

"Our thoughts here are that the promise made to the Seed of Confederates, *Gen.* 17, takes in all Children of Confederating Parents, whether baptized here or elsewhere, whether younger or Elder, if they do either expressly or otherwayes may be Concieved in the Judgement of Charity to Consent thereto." [21]

In the same year Rev. N. Rogers of Ipswich wrote:

"To the question concerning the Children of Church Members, I have nothing to oppose, and I wonder why any should deny them to be members. . . . . We are this week to meet in the Church about it, and I know nothing but we must speedily fall to practice." [22]

This undoubtedly was done soon after, for in 1655 the Ipswich Church put on record the following vote: "We judge that the children of such adult persons" [those baptized in infancy] "that were of understanding and not scandalous, and shall take the Covenant, that their children shall be baptized." [23] The Dorchester Church took similar action the same year.[24] Salem had come to similar conclusions still earlier.[25]

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and advised with those that were able to give [advice]." *Windsor Ch. Records*, Stiles' *History*, p. 172. The Church resumed the practice by vote, June 21, 1668, under Mr. Chauncy. Meantime, in June, 1666, Mr. Warham seems to have been opposed to the practice, and is spoken of by Davenport, in the letter before referred to, as "sound" in the matter.

[20] *Ibid*, p. 26.

[21] *Ibid*, p. 21.

[22] *Ibid*, 23–24.

[23] *Contributions to Hist. Essex Co.*, p. 271.

[24] Felt, ii, 134.

[25] White's *N. E. Congregationalism*, p. 60.

Connecticut, therefore, cannot be charged with originating the new departure in the enlargement of the scope of Baptism and in favoring of the "parish-way," although the earliest motion for an authoritative utterance upon the subject came from her. The matter was in the air. And in the turmoiled state of the Hartford Church, owing to an ecclesiastical quarrel between its officers, the question was all the more liable to expression. As Trumbull says, "Numbers of them took this opportunity to introduce into the Assembly a list of grievances, on account of their being denied their just rights and privileges by the ministers and churches."[26] The two questions — the rights of "non-confederating" parishioners in the choice of a minister, and the rights of children of baptized parents not admitted to full communion, were the main points in debate.

It has sometimes been said that political disabilities underlay this agitation. No evidence exists of it. There were no new political privileges to be gained by the enlargement of baptism or half-way entrance into the church-state. Not even in Massachusetts or New Haven did such entrance bring with it any additional secular privilege. Least of all is such a suggestion even plausible as to Connecticut, where no limitation of privilege to church-members had ever been attempted. The motive was a religious one, whether wise or unwise.

Connecticut, May 15, 1656, appointed a committee to confer with the elders of the Colony about "those things y^t^ are p^r^sented to this Courte as grevances to severall persons amongst vs,"[27] with a view to presenting the same to the General Courts of the United Colonies. Upon the represen-

[26] *History*, i, 298.
[27] *Col. Records*, i, 281.

tations thus made by Connecticut, which took the form, in part, of a series of questions for discussion, the General Court of Massachusetts passed an order, October 21st,[28] responding to Connecticut's proposal for a deliberative Assembly,[29] and selected thirteen of the teaching elders of the Colony[30] to meet with the elders of the other Colonies on the following June for the purposes designated. Provision was made for the entertainment of the Assembly, and letters of invitation and copies of Connecticut's letter and questions sent. Plymouth apparently gave no answer. New Haven wrote a letter declining to attend, and saying:

"We hear that the petition^rs, or others closing with them, are very confident that they shall obteyn great alterations, both in civill governm^t, and in church-discipline, and that some of them have procured or hyred one as their agent to maintayne in writing (as is conceived) that parishes in England, consenting to and continewing their meetings to worship God are true Churches, and such persons coming over hither (w^thout holding forth any worke of faith, etc.), have right to all church privileges; And probably they expect their deputie should employ himself and improve his interests, to spread and press such paradoxes in the Massachusetss, yea at the synod or meeting."

New Haven further urged the departure to England of Hooke and Whitfield, and the death of Prudden, as an additional reason for declining to send delegates; but forwarded

[28] *Mass. Col. Rec.*, iii, 419.

[29] The gathering proposed was of ministers only; not of churches by their ministers and messengers. And herein doubtless, the stricter Congregationalists found a source of offence, as savoring of a greater authority in the ministry than their principles allowed. They complained of all such concessions as "Presbyterian."

[30] The Elders designated by Massachusetts were Revs. Messrs. Norton, R. Mather, Allin, and Thatcher of Suffolk; Buckley, Chauncey, Symmes, Sherman, and Mitchell of Middlesex; and Norris, E. Rogers, Whiting, and Cobbett of Essex.

a series of answers to the questions proposed by Connecticut, drawn up by the hand of John Davenport. The General Court of Connecticut, on February 26, 1657, appointed Mr. Warham of Windsor, Mr. Stone of Hartford, Mr. Blinman of New London, and Mr. Russell of Wethersfield, the delegates for this Colony.

The Assembly of Elders met at Boston, June 4, 1657, and sat a fortnight in deliberation. It gave formal answers to twenty-one proposed questions. The answer to the 10th question is chiefly important, viz.:

"It is the duty of children who confederate in their parents when grown up to years of discretion, though not yet fit for the *Lord's supper*, to own the *Covenant* they made with their Parents by entering thereinto in their own persons; and it is the duty of the church to call upon them for the performance thereof; and if being called upon they shall refuse the performances of this great duty, or otherwise continue scandalous, they are liable to be censured for the same by the church. And in case they understand the *Grounds* of *Religion* and are not scandalous, and solemnly own to the *Covenant* in their own persons, wherein they give up both themselves and their children unto the Lord, and desire baptism for them, we (with due reverence to any godly learned that may dissent) see not sufficient cause to deny baptism unto their children."[31]

This answer, as Dr. Trumbull intimates,[32] virtually carried with it the right of all baptized persons to vote in the choice of a minister whether in full fellowship or not, and was so far, a practical recognition of the parish-way of Old England as against the church-way of New England's prevalent usage.

On the 12th of August following, "A true coppy of the

[31] *Hubbard*, pp. 566–567

[32] *History*, i, p. 304.

Counsells answere to seuerall questions" was presented to the "Court, signed by Reuerend Mr. Sam: Stone, in the name of the rest of the Counsell." Whereupon the Court ordered:

"That coppies should goe forth to the seu^rall Churches in this Collony as speedily, & if any exceptions bee against any thing therein, by any Church that shall haue the consideration thereof, the Court desires they would acquaint the next Gen: Court in Hartford, in Octo^r: that so suitable care may bee had for their solution & satisfaction." [33]

With all this preparation of the way, however, and this ecclesiastical endorsement, the churches were slow to accept the change. "Yea it met with such opposition as could not be encountered with anything less than a *Synod* of *Elders* and *Messengers*, from all the churches in the Massachusetts colony." [34] This Synod, in which the two western Colonies were not represented, but which was composed of "above seventy" members, met in Boston, March 11–21, 1662; and, by a vote of more than seven to one, confirmed the principle set forth in the 10th answer of the ministerial assembly of 1657—the principle known as the "Half-way-Covenant." The language of the Synod on this point is as follows:

"Church-members who were admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of faith, and publickly professing their assent thereto: not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant before the church, wherein they give up themselves and children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, their children are to be baptised." [35]

A minority of able and devout men opposed this conclusion, in the Synod and afterward. But the vote of the Synod

[33] *Col. Records*, i, 302.
[34] *Magnalia*, ii, 239.
[35] *Ibid*, pp. 249–250.

was overwhelming. Its meaning has been well expressed by one of Connecticut's most eminent pastors and historians: "It did not merely provide that baptized persons growing up in the bosom of the church with blameless character, and without any overt denial of the faith in which they were nurtured, might offer their children for baptism without being required to demand and obtain at the same time the privilege of full communion. But it also provided that such persons, as a condition preliminary to the baptism of their children, should make a certain public profession of Christian faith and Christian obedience, including a formal covenant with God and with the church, which at the same time was to be understood as implying no profession of any Christian experience. The former, by itself, might have been a comparatively harmless innovation. The latter was a grave theological error, hardening and establishing itself in the form of an ecclesiastical system." [36]

The year following this Synod, Mr. Stone, the Teacher of the Hartford Church, died. The next year, 1664, saw the association of Mr. Haynes with Mr. Whiting in the pastorate of the Hartford Church.

A few months later, encouraged by the declaration of the Synod, and, probably, also discouraged by the attitude of the churches in not at once yielding to the position taken by the Synod, a carefully drawn petition was presented to the General Court by William Pitkin,[37] of Hartford, and six

[36] Dr. Bacon, *Cont. to Conn. Eccl. Hist.*, pp. 21–22.

[37] William Pitkin, the progenitor of the family in this country, was born in 1635, in London, England. He had an excellent English and law education, but left a large manuscript volume of religious writings, still extant, which show him to have been a man of piety, and of no mean knowledge in theology, also. He came to Hartford in 1659. He was Attorney for the Colony, and Representative in the Assembly, many years; Treasurer, in 1676; and from 1690 till his death, in 1694, a member of the Council. He married, in 1660–61,

others, in October of this year, the main points of which are contained in the following quotation from it, viz.:

"Our aggrevience is, that we and ours, are not under the due care of an orthodox ministry, that will in a due manner administer to us those ordinances that we stand capable of, as the baptising of our children, our being admitted (as we according to Christ's order may be found meet) to the Lord's Table, and a careful watch over us in our way, and suitable dealing with us as we do well or ill, with all whatsoever benefits and advantages belong to us as members of Christ's visible church. . . . . Furthermore we humbly request, that for the future no law in this corporation may be of any force to make us pay or contribute the maintenance of any minister or officer of the church that will neglect or refuse to baptise our children & to take care of us, as of such members of the church as are under his or their charge or care." [38]

Hannah, daughter of Ozias Goodwin, brother of Elder William Goodwin. His character, as manifested throughout his life, and as revealed in the remarkable volume of his religious compositions, shows that the part he took in the church controversy was one in which he was sincere and moved by honorable convictions.

[38] The signers of this petition with William Pitkin, of Hartford, were Michael Humphrey, of Windsor; John Stedman, of Hartford; James Eno, of Windsor; Robert Reeve, John Moses, and Jonas Westover, both the last two of Windsor. See Stiles' *Windsor*, pp. 167–168. This was an old grievance. As long before as 1639, the "Elders of the seuerall Churches in New England" had had occasion to reply to questions on this matter put to them by "divers Ministers in England," and had especially addressed themselves to the interrogatory, "Whether you will permit such members [of English Churches] as are either famously knowne to yourselves to be godly, or doe bring sufficient Testimonial from others that are so knowne, or from the Congregation whereof they were members," to join themselves to the New England churches. The cogent reply would probably have fitted the Hartford case, as well as the earlier ones in view of which it was written. It is: "Our Answer to this Question is this, I. That we never yet knew any to come from England in such a manner as you do here describe (if the things you mention be taken *conjunctim*, and not severally) *viz:* to be Men famously known to be godly, and to bring sufficient Testimoniall thereof from others that are so knowne, and from the Congregation itselfe, whereof they were members: We say we never yet knew any to come to us from thence in such a manner, but one or other of the things here mentioned are wanting: and generally this is wanting in all of them, that they bring no

The meaning of this was that Mr. William Pitkin and his associates, having been members of the English National Church, desired to be accounted, on the basis of that relationship, without further requirement, members of the Congregational churches of the places where they resided in New England.

Their appeal to the Court met with sympathy. That body, at the same session, took the following action:

"This Court vnderstanding by a writing presented to them from seuerall persons of this Colony, that they are agrieved that they are not interteined in church fellowship; This Court haueing duly considered the same, desireing that the rules of Christ may be attended, doe commend it to the ministers and churches in this Colony to consider whither it be not their duty to enterteine all such persons, whoe are of an honest and godly conuersation, haueing a competency of knowledg in the principles of religion, and shall desire to joyne wth them in church fellowship, by an explicitt covenant, and that they haue their children baptized, and that all the children of the church be accepted and acco^{td} reall members of the church, and that the church exercise a due Christian care and watch ouer them; and that when they are growne up, being examined by the officer in the presence of the church, it appeares in the judgement of charity, they are duely qualifyed to perticipate in that great ordinance of the Lords Supper, by theire being able to examine themselues and discerne the Lords body, such persons be admitted to full cõunion.

Testimoniall from the Congregation itselfe: and therefore no marvell if they have not been admitted (further than before hath been expressed in Answer to Quest. I.) to Church Ordinances with us, before they have joyned to one or other of our Churches; for though some that came over bee famously knowne to ourselves to be Godly, or bring sufficient Testimoniall with them from private Christians, yet neither is our knowledge of them, nor Testimonial from private Christians, sufficient to give us Church-power over them, which we had need to have, if we must dispence the Ordinances of Church communion to them; though it be sufficient to procure all due Reverent respect, and hearty lòve to them in the Lord." *Answer of the Elders*, pp. 28–29.

"This Court desires y^t^ the seuerall officers of y^e^ respectiue churches would be pleased to consider whither it be not the duty of the Court to order the churches to practice according to the premises, if they doe not practice w^th^out such order. If any dissent from the contents of this writing they are desired to help the Court w^th^ such light as is w^th^ them, the next Session of this Assembly. The Court orders the Secret^r^y to send a copy of this writing to the seuerall ministers and churches in this Colony." [89]

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[89] *Col. Records*, i, pp. 437–438. How many "dissented" and "helped the Court with such light as was in them," is uncertain. One such document of dissent and help is, however, extant, in the possession of Dr. J. H. Trumbull. It is a closely written argument of sixteen pages, signed by Adam Blackman and Thomas Hanford, "in the name and with the consent" of the two churches at Stratford and Norwalke, respectively. It strenuously maintains, by appeal to early Ecclesiastical usage, history, and scripture, that "Saints by calling or Believers (made visible to charitable discern^t^ by all the wayes & Rules of Christ) are fitt matter for a Gospell Church and no other. . . . . Or this, That all such & only such are to be received members into Gospell Churches, as doe before the Lord & his people profess their faith and repentance, and subjection to Christ in all his ordinances, and do not blemish their profession by an ungospell-like conversation." The position on the other points proposed by the Court can be easily inferred.

Adam Blakeman was pastor of the church at Stratford from 1640 to his death, in 1665. Cotton Mather says that Mr. Hooker used to declare, "If I might have my choice, I would choose to live and die under Mr. Blakeman's ministry." Blakeman was, like Hooker, of Leicestershire, and they may have been acquaintances there. He made his will March 16th, 1665, containing an interesting reference to the controversy of the times. "*Item*. Because many of God's servants have been falsely accused concerning the judgement of the kinglike power of Christ; though I have cause to bewail my great ignorance and weakness in acting, yet I do and hope I shall, through the strength of Christ, to my dying day adhere to that form of Church Discipline agreed on by the Rev. Elders and brethren in the year 49, now in print. And to the truth of God concerning that point, left on record by that famous and Rev. servant of God, of blessed memory, Mr. Thomas Hooker, in his elaborate work called '*The Survey of Church Discipline*,' to which most in all the churches of Christ then gathered in this colony gave their consent as appears in the Rev. Author's epistle, so at Milford, New-Haven, Guilford, and those in the Bay, who could be come at in that stress of time. And, I being one who in the name of our church, subscribed that copy, could never (through the grace of Christ) see cause to receive any other judgement, nor fall from those principles so soundly backed with Scripture and arguments which none yet could overturn."

Thomas Hanford was minister at Norwalk from 1652 to his death, in 1693.

This was an explicit notice to the churches that the conclusions of the Synod were to be backed up, if need be, by the "order" of the General Court. All which indicates that while the government favored the parish or "Presbyterian" way, the churches were slow in departing from the principles on which they were founded. The leaven, however, was fermenting.

It is at this point, and as the issue of all this line of antecedents, that John Davenport's letter lifts the curtain on the dramatic spectacle of the June lecture-day in 1666. The water made ready. "Yong Mr Heynes" preaching and prepared to administer the rite of baptism to some child or children of parents not communicants. Forbidden to proceed by his senior colleague, Mr. Whiting. Old Mr. Warham—converted from his seven years' practice of the usage at Windsor[40]—now attempting to testify against it, but rudely silenced by declarations that he was out of his place. The stormy break-up of the meeting. The challenge for debate. The obvious popularity of the innovating measures, and "yong Mr Heynes," who represented them.

Up to this time, as Mr. Davenport declares, "the most of the churches in this jurisdicōn [were] professedly against the new way both in judgment and practice upon Gospel Grounds, n. Newhaven, Milford, Stratford, Brandford, Gillford, Norwalke, Stamford, and those nearer to Hartford, n. Farmington, and the sounder parte of Windsor, together with thier Reverend Pastor Mr Warham, and, I thinck, Mr Fitch and his church also." [41]

Nor did the Hartford Church, or its senior Pastor, certainly, yield immediately. A report of a curious interview,

[40] Stiles' *Windsor*, p. 172.
[41] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxx, 60.

in which Mr. William Pitkin again appears urging the claims of his English church-membership, is preserved to us in the writing of Mr. Whiting.[42] It is as follows:

"1666, 9ber [November] 22. Joseph Fitch, Nicolas Olmsted, Jno Gilbert, John Stedman, Wm Pitkin & Edward Grannis, came to speak with me, Mr. James Richards, James Steele, John Cole, and Andrew Benton, being present, at Mr. Willys his house. Mr. Pitkin in the name of the rest before mentioned, told me that they did desire cõunion with the church of Hartford in all the ordinances of Christ.

"My answer was I did desire to know upon what account they desired that cõunion, whether upon account of any union they had already with the church of Hartford or an union they should have by joining to it. Wm Pitkin answered they did desire it upon account of a union they had already (being in covenant or church members) but if anything further were required by rule they would attend it. Whereunto I returned answer that I knew no such union they had to the Church of Hartford as to entitle them to cõunion in all the ordinances of Christ, but however that I would consider of their motion and give them further answer in some convenient time."

Probably Mr. Whiting never gave a favorable answer. But the questions raised refused to be quieted. The ever-ready General Court interfered again, and in October, 1666, ordered a "Synod" of "all ye Preacheing Elders and Ministers" of the Colony, together with four ministers from Massachusetts, including Rev. Jonathan Mitchell, the acknowledged leader of the new way in ecclesiastical affairs, to meet in Hartford in the following May.[43] The Court formulated seventeen "Questions to be disputed;"[44] and, pending

[42] *Mss. Rec. Conn. Eccl.*, i, 10. Copied by C. J. Hoadly.

[43] *Col. Rec.*, ii, 53–54.

[44] A few of the Questions will suffice. "1. Whether federall holines or couent interest be not ye propper grounde of Baptisme. 3. Whether the adult

the Synod's meeting, said, "It is desired by this Court and solemnly commended to y^e^ churches and people in this Jurisdiction, to suspend all matters controuersall and y^e^ practice of them not formerly receaued and practiced in y^e^ churches here vntil an orderly decision be giuen by y^e^ Synod in May next." But before May came around the Court had apparently heard something from the churches. This imposition of a clerical "Synod" on them, without their voice in its call, was something they were not yet prepared for. The Court, anyway, saw reason to alter the title of the assembly it had summoned, and voted "to stile them an Assembly of the Ministers of this Colony called together by the Generall Court." [45]

The Assembly met as appointed, but adjourned without debate till autumn. It never met again. Mr. Whiting, Mr. Warham, and Mr. Hooker of Farmington, opposers of the new way in Congregationalism, wrote to the Court, asking for a "more generall convention of meet persons sent from the Churches from the Massachusetts & o^r^selves;" [46] Mr.

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seed of visible belieuers, not cast out, be not true members and the subiects of Church watch. 4. Whether ministeriall officers are not as truly bound to baptize the visible disciples of X^t^ providentially setled amongst them, as officially to preach the Word. 9. Whether it doth not belong to y^e^ body of a Towne collectiuely, taken joyntly, to call him to be their minister whom the Church shal choose to be their officer. 16. Whether a Synod haue a decisive power."

[45] Felt suggests (vol. ii, 466) that this alteration of "stile" was owing to prejudice against the title of Synod because of association with the Half-way Covenant Synod of 1662. The more probable reason is that the strict Congregationalists objected to a "Synod" called by State authority, in which the churches had no voice; whose findings were likely, under that title, to be imposed upon them by the same power. The objection to the call of a Synod thus, on the part of some of the Massachusetts churches, came near being fatal to the Cambridge Synod of 1648. (See Winthrop's *Journal*, ii, 329.) Doubtless strict Congregationalists objected, also, to calling anything a *Synod* in which there were not lay delegates, and discerned in a merely clerical body, endued with ecclesiastical authority, something of a Presbyterian quality.

[46] *Col. Rec.*, ii, 70.

Bulckley and Mr. Haynes, friends of the new way, wrote asking that the meeting already called might go on as first intended.[47] The Court seconded the suggestions of the former petitioners so far as to call on the churches to send their "ministers to joyne in councill w^th^ such of the Massachusetts & Plimouth as shall be appoynted."[48] The scheme, however, fell through. The probability seems to be that the views of the Connecticut churches were discerned to be so adverse to the parish way, and the Presbyterianizing tendency to put the decision of matters into clerical hands only, as to render the experiment of a discussion and vote upon the subject hazardous to the success of the new departure. "Measures were therefore adopted to prevent the meeting and result of the assembly."[49]

The agitation, however, continued. By the spring of the following year, May 1668, the General Court, apparently at last despairing of settling matters by "orders" and "disputes," designated Rev. Messrs. James Fitch, Gershom Bulckley, Joseph Eliott, and Saml. Wakeman "to consider of some expedient for our peace, by searching out the rule and thereby cleareing up how farre the churches and people may walke together within themselves and one w^th^ another in the fellowship and order of the Gospel, notwithstanding some various apprehensions amongst them in matters of discipline respecting membership and baptisme &c."[50] This was, at last, a sensible and Christian measure. The same Court

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[47] Trumbull, i, 458.

[48] *Col. Records*, ii, 70.

[49] *Trumbull*, i, 457. See also pp. 456–459. Bradstreet's *Journal* says, "This year there was a Synod called at Hartford to discuss some points concerning baptism and church discipline; but nothing was concluded, the Congregational party [*i. e.*, the adherents of the old way], which was the greatest, violently opposing the Presbyterian [*i. e.*, the advocates of the new way].

[50] *Col. Rec.*, ii, 84.

appointed a "day of Humiliation," in view of the "continuance of diuisions in seuerall plantations and societies amongst us."

The ministers empowered to "consider some expedient of peace," made "returne" to the Court in May 1669; and the Court, at the same session, passed the following important resolve [51]—a practical repeal of the order of March 1658, enacted to defeat Elder Goodwin's "withdrawing" party, and which forbade separate church assemblies:

"This Courte haueing seriously considered the great diuisions that arise amongst us about matters of Church Gouernment, for the honor of God, wellfare of the Churches, and preseruation of the publique peace so greatly hazarded, doe declare that whereas the Congregationall Churches in these partes for the generall of their profession and practice haue hitherto been approued, we can doe no less than still approue and countenance the same to be w^th^out disturbance vntill better light in an orderly way doth appeare; but yet forasmuch as sundry persons of worth for prudence and piety amongst us are otherwise perswaded (whose wellfare and peaceable satisfaction we desire to accomadate) This Court doth declare that all such persons being allso approued according to lawe, orthodox and sownd in the fundamentalls of Christian religion may haue allowances of their perswasion and profession in church wayes or assemblies w^th^out disturbance."

"Until better light in an orderly way doth appeare," this, as Dr. Bacon remarks,[52] is "particularly significant." It intimates another ecclesiastical system, not the original one of the churches, the "system of all national churches, and therefore of the Presbyterian party in the Long Parliament and the Westminster assembly" as "looming in the future";

[51] *Ibid*, 109.

[52] *Contributions to Eccl. Hist.*, p. 28.

"a system under which the local church as a covenanted brotherhood of souls renewed by the experience of God's grace, was to be merged in the parish; and all persons of good moral character living within the parochial bounds, were to have, as in England or Scotland, the privilege of baptism for their households, and of access to the Lord's table." [53]

The immediate effect of this action of the Court, however, was to open a way of escape from their embarrassment to the minority of the Hartford Church.

"Yong Mr Heynes" and his party for synodical authority, the parish way, and "large baptisme" were obviously in the ascendancy. Whether the younger Pastor up to this time had actually practiced the baptism allowed by the Clerical Assembly of 1657 and the "Synod" of 1662, and for which water had been made ready in the Hartford meeting-house in 1666, is perhaps uncertain. Very likely in the four years' of quarrel and the growing ascendency of "his partie" which had followed, he had done so.[54]

The question might be more doubtful than it is—when the attitude of his senior associate on that memorable June lecture-day is recalled—were it not for some rather surprising facts shortly to be noticed.

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[53] *Ibid*, p. 29.

[54] Dr. Trumbull's statement (vol. i, p. 471) that the practice of "Owning the Covenant," which was a part of the new system of baptism, was "introduced by Mr. Woodbridge" in the First Church in Hartford in 1696, and "does not appear to have obtained in the churches of this Colony until the year 1696," is strangely incorrect. The Windsor Church practiced the new way of baptism for some years immediately following the Assembly of 1657; the Second Church of Hartford practiced the "Owning of the Covenant" from its establishment in 1670; and the First Church had probably practiced it still earlier than the Second. The records of the First Church still extant (the earlier having been lost) begin with Mr. Woodbridge's ordination in 1685, when the system was in full, and doubtless long-established operation.

Soon after the passage of the resolution of May 1669, an ecclesiastical Council was apparently convened, which advised a separation of the minority from the Hartford Church and their establishment in separate church-estate.[55] In October following, the General Court acted[56] on a petition which had been "presented by Mr. Whiting &c. for a distinct walkeing in Congregational Church order as hath been here setled according to Counsell of the Elders," advising "the Church of Hartford to take some effectuall course that Mr. Whiting &c. may practice the Congregationall way w^th^out disturbance either from preaching or practice diuersly to their just offence, or els to grant their loveing consent to their bretheren to walke distinct, according to such their Congregationall principles, which this Court alowes liberty in Hartford to be done. But if both these be refused or neglected by the Church, then these bretheren may in any regular way attend to release, and relieue themselves w^th^out offence to the Court. In the vote for this aboue written order there dissented fower Assist^s^ & fowerteen Deputies."

Whether the Church consented to the departure, the perishing of the records forbids determination. But on the 22d of February following—1670—Rev. Mr. Whiting and thirty-one members of the Hartford Church, with their families, withdrew and formed themselves, by the advice of a Council, into a distinct Church.[57]

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[55] Trumbull, i, p. 461. The number of the inhabitants of Hartford at this time of the division into two ecclesiastical establishments, is approximately to be inferred from the list of freemen, taken in October of this year. From this list it appears that in Hartford there were one hundred and seventeen freemen; of whom fifty were on the north side, and sixty-seven on the south side of the Little River. *Col. Rec.*, ii, pp. 518–19.

[56] *Col. Rec.*, ii, p. 120.

[57] This, of course, involved the institution of a new way of providing for ministerial and parish expenses. Up to this time the vote of the town had

They aver in their paper "read before the messengers of the Churches and consented to by ourselves" that "the Congregational way (for the substance of it) as formerly settled, professed and practiced, under the guidance of the first leaders of this Church of Hartford is, the way of Christ;" which "way" they more especially indicate in the "main heads or principles" which they proceed to specify; the most significant of which in its bearing on the long struggle through which they had passed are these:

"1. That visible saints are the only fit matter, and confederation the form, of a visible church. . . . .

"3. That such a particular church being organized, or having furnished itself with those officers which Christ hath appointed, hath all power and privileges of a church belonging to it. . . . .

"4. That the power of guidance or leading, belongs only to the eldership, and the power of judgment, consent, or

been taken on all such questions. No direct legislative authority for the establishment of the new method in reference to this separation into Societies of the Hartford community, appears to have been preserved. But on p. 52 of the *Book of the General Laws* of 1672–3, the following emendation of a former law concerning *Ministers' Mayntenance*, was doubtless prompted by the separation at Hartford: "This Court Doe order that all those who are or ought to be taught in the Word in the several Plantations shall be respectively called together once in each year to consider what may be meet maintainance for the ministry of that Society to which they belong and to conclude the same; and whatever sum shall be agreed upon by the Major part of the Society, the particular sums assessed upon each person by a just Rate shall be collected and Levied as other Town Rates; Provided where there are more than one Assembly in a Town they shall severally meet to Consider and determine as aforesaid, and all persons shall Contribute to one or both of those Societies within their Township, and in case any Society shall fail of allowing a suitable maintainance to the Minister or Ministry of their Society, upon Information or Complaint made thereof to the next County Court in that County they are hereby Ordered to appoint what maintainance shall be allowed to the Minister, and shall Order the Selectmen to Assess the Inhabitants, which Assessment shall be levied by some Officers appointed thereto, as other Rates, and in Wheat, Peas, and Indian Corn, a third of each; Always Provided that an Honorable allowance be made to every Minister according to the ability of the place or people."

privilege, belongs to the fraternity, or brethren in full communion." [58]

This is sound original Congregationalism. It was a timely assertion of it. And it indicates very distinctly the opposition of those who drew up the statement, to the Presbyterianizing tendency which was, in Church and State alike, now so strongly emphasizing synodical authority and the parish-way.[59] But on one point of practice which had

[58] Trumbull, i, p. 462.

[59] The new Church followed its declaration of principles by the adoption of the following Covenant, which, as it suggests an interesting enquiry, is here quoted in full:

"Since it hath pleased God, in his infinite mercy, to manifest himself willing to take unworthy sinners near unto himself, even into covenant relation to and interest in him, to become a God to them and avouch them to be his people, and accordingly to command and encourage them to give up themselves and their children also unto him:

"We do therefore this day, in the presence of God, his holy angels, and this assembly, avouch the Lord Jehovah, the true and living God, even God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to be our God, and give up ourselves and ours also unto him, to be his subjects and servants, promising through grace and strength in Christ, (without whom we can do nothing,) to walk in professed subjection to him as our only Lord and Lawgiver, yielding universal obedience to his blessed will, according to what discoveries he hath made or hereafter shall make, of the same to us; in special, that we will seek him in all his holy ordinances according to the rules of the gospel, submitting to his government in this particular Church, and walking together therein with all brotherly love and mutual watchfulness, to the building up of one another in faith and love unto his praise: all which we promise to perform, the Lord helping us through his grace in Jesus Christ."

Can this be the original and otherwise missing first Covenant of the Hartford Church? The subscribers to it professed their intention of reverting to the Congregational way "formerly settled, professed, and practiced under the guidance of the first leaders of this Church of Hartford." This, in their view, required a restatement of Congregational principles. But it did not require the writing of a new Covenant. On the contrary, if the Covenant of the founders of that Church were still known, as is impossible to doubt, it would seem to be the most natural thing to adhere to it. The suggestion, therefore, seems a not unlikely one that the first Covenant of the old Church may be preserved through the new. The earliest formula preserved on the documents of the First Church is one inscribed by Rev. Timothy Woodbridge in the spring of 1695, in a kind of memorandum book of Church matters begun by him ten years previously, and is drawn up especially in behalf of Half-way-Covenant

been a chief issue at one stage of the contest, and which was really at bottom the vital question in it, we are confronted by what seems a surprising fact. The new church which went off from the old as the representative of the pure "Congregationall way, as formerly settled, professed, and practiced, under the guidance of the first leaders of the Church of Hartford," at once began the usage of Half-way-Covenant baptism. Thirty-six "children of the Church, or members not yet in full communion," owned the Covenant, apparently on the day of the organization of the Second Church of Hartford, and "some of them were married people, who immediately thereafter brought their children to be baptized." [60]

This significantly shows two things; first, the strength of the tide for the larger baptism which had begun to run so powerfully that even its former opponents no longer resisted; and, second, the curious way in which, in the progress of a controversy, the struggle shifts ground, and the real issues and watchwords change.

The original issue was the relation to the church of those who, having been baptized in infancy or in England, desired a voice in church action and a participation in church privileges. It came to be a question, apparently, of relatively almost theoretic interest, concerning synodical authority, and of rights of self-administration; asserted, too, at the same moment that the great practical concession of Half-way-Covenant baptism rendered the assertion comparatively nugatory. There is no evidence that the reassertion of the "Congregational way as formerly settled, professed, and

assentors, and by no means negatives the idea that another one, and possibly the one adopted by the Second Church, may have been, even then, the formula for admission to full communion.

[60] Dr. Parker's *Historical Address*, pp. 32–35.

practiced, under the guidance of the first leaders of the Church of Hartford," connected as it was with the adoption of the Half-way-Covenant practice, enabled or inclined the Second Church to present any lasting opposition to the Presbyterianizing tendency of things in Connecticut. It did serve, however—as did the action of a majority of the Windsor church, where it was the large-Congregationalists instead of the strict-Congregationalists who severed themselves from the old church—to give momentary name to the struggle, as a struggle between Congregationalism and Presbyterianism. Mr. Bradstreet of New London records in his diary for the winter of 1669–70: "This winter Hartford chh. divided. Mr. Whyting and his party refusing to hold comunion with Mr. Haynes and his party (on account of some differences in Point of chh. govern[t]) Mr. Haynes and those with him being lookt upon as Presbyterians."[61] And similar divisions of sentiment respecting ministerial and synodical authority and the parish way, existing in other churches not split by the diversity, are plainly indicated in the statement made ten years later, in "An Answer to the queries of the Lords of Trade and Plantations," viz.: "Our people in this Colony are some of them strict Congregationall men, others more large Congregational men, and some moderate Presbyterians. And take the Congregational men of both sorts they are the greatest part of the people in the Colony."[62]

Mr. Whiting continued the honored pastor of the Second Church in Hartford till his death on September 8, 1689.

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[61] *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, viii, p. 327. Mr. Bradstreet also records (ix, p. 45) "Mch. 18, 69–70. My Br. Benjamin Woodbridge was ordained minister of the Presbyterian party (as they are accounted) of Windsor."

[62] July 5, 1680.

Cotton Mather speaks of him as one "who will never be forgotten till *Connecticut* Colony do forget itself and all religion." [63]

Left in sole charge of the Church, Rev. Mr. Haynes continued its Pastor for a little more than nine years. Apparently the experience of the Church had satisfied it with the trial of the dual pastorate. It did not repeat the experiment for a hundred and ninety-two years; nor then with entire success. Committed to the large-Congregational way, inclined to synodical supervision and clerical authority, the old Church swung with the general drift of the tide at that day. Little is known of its special experiences, contemporaneous documents which might illustrate its history having mostly vanished. [64]

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[63] He received a grant from the General Court of "two hundred acres of land for a farme." On the 27th of August, 1675, he was by the Council of Connecticut "nominated and desired to goe forth wth o^{r} army to be a minister unto them" in the Indian war then waging. He preached the Election Sermon at Hartford May 13, 1686, "*The Way of Israel's Welfare*," etc. Boston, 1686, pp. (6), 44.

He had fourteen children, seven by his wife Sybil Collins of Cambridge, whom he married about 1654, and seven by his second wife, Phebe Gregson, whom he married in 1673. Samuel, the seventh child of his first wife, born April 22, 1670, was the first minister of Windham. Rev. John Whiting was buried near his associate Mr. Stone in the old burying-ground back of the First Church.

[64] March 22, 1675, a Day of Fasting and prayer was kept for confession of sin and renewal of Covenant. The Norwich Church, observing this day, adopted (among others) these rules: "1. All males who are eight or nine years of age, shall be presented before the Lord in his Congregation every Lord's Day to be catechised till they be about thirteen years of age. 2. Those about thirteen years of age, both male and female, shall frequent the meetings appointed in private for their instruction, while they continue under family government, or until they are received into full communion in the church. 3. Adults who do not endeavor to take hold of the Covenant shall be excommunicated."

On the 29th of December, 1676, "The townsmen agreed with W^{m} Goodwin to sweep the meeting house and ring the Bell Sabbaths and public meetings of the Town or Side, and at nine of the Clock at night, for which he is to have seven pounds per annum. He is also to dig graves and warn publick meetings as the Townsmen shall appoint for which he shall be paid as Robert Sanford was." *Town Records.*

About 1668, or two years before the separation of the Church, Mr. Haynes married Sarah, daughter of Richard Lord.[65] And on the 24th of May, 1679, at the still early age of about thirty-eight he died, having served the Church fifteen years; four years in connection with Mr. Whiting and eleven years as sole Pastor.

He was buried beside his father, the honored Governor of the Colony, and beside Hooker and Stone, the ministers of his boyhood and youth.

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[65] Mr. Haynes had four children:

1. *John*, born 1669; graduated at Harvard College 1689; Assistant Judge, etc.; died November 27, 1713, leaving one son, John, who dying in 1717 without issue, extinguished the male line of descent and the name.

2. *Mabel*, died unmarried about 1713. She was (according to a Church record of April 18, 1708) what is now called "unfortunate," but on confession "was accepted."

3. *Sarah*, married in 1694 Rev. James Pierpont of New Haven as his second wife, and died in 1697 leaving one daughter, Abigail.

4. *Mary*.

Mr. Haynes left a will dated February 26, 1676, with a codicil dated May 23, 1679. The whole amount of his estate, which was large for those days, was £2,280 17*s*.

Among its items were:

"Homestead,	£250	"7 cows,
Parcel of Meadow,	200	2 old oxen,
Land in South Meadow,	160	2 young oxen,
Land in the Ox Pasture,	50	6 young steers,
Land in Farmington,	800"	8 steeres more,
		2 heifers,
		4 young cattell,
		5 year old cattell,
		1 cart horse,
		1 horse more, 2 mares, 2 colts."

"Books prized by Mr. Gershom Bulkly and Mr. Jno. Woodbridge, £51 12*s*. 4*d*."

CHAPTER IX.

ISAAC FOSTER AND EARLY CHURCH USAGES.

Sometime late in 1679 or early in 1680, Isaac Foster was ordained in the pastorate of the First Church in Hartford, left vacant by the untimely death of Joseph Haynes. Dr. Hawes, in the historical sermon preached by him on June 26, 1836—two hundred years after the arrival of the Church from Cambridge on its present soil—says of Isaac Foster: "The late Dr. Strong remarks of him, that 'he was eminent for piety and died young.' This is the only record that remains of him, and though brief, it is honorable, and places him among the just whose memory is blessed." [1]

Fortunately the developments of Time in this instance, as so often, enable us to discern, a little more distinctly than that brief statement of his piety and early death allowed Drs. Strong and Hawes to do, what manner of man he was who preceded them in the pastorate.

Isaac Foster was son of William Foster, a ship captain of Charlestown, Mass. He was born, probably in 1652; about which date also his mother, Ann, daughter of Wm. Brackenbury, was admitted to the church in Charlestown.[2] Entering college in 1667, he graduated at Harvard in the class of

[1] *Centennial Discourse*, p. 14.

[2] Wm. Foster, the father, died May 8, 1698, aged about eighty; his wife, Ann, was admitted to Charlestown Church, Sept. 25, 1652, and died Sept. 22, 1714, aged eighty-five.

1671, having Samuel Sewall, afterward Chief Justice of Massachusetts, and Samuel Mather, afterward minister at Windsor, among his classmates.

It is supposed to have been in the autumn following his bachelor's degree that he, with his father, was taken prisoner by the Turks, Oct. 21, 1671, while on a voyage in his father's vessel, the *Dolphin*, carrying a cargo of fish to Bilbao. The prisoners were redeemed in November 1673. The event was made the occasion of one of the poetical "composures" of Michael Wigglesworth;[3] and also of a tribute to the efficaciousness of the prayers of John Eliot, by Cotton Mather, who records that "Mr. *Eliot*, in some of his next prayers, before a very solemn congregation, very broadly begged, *Heavenly father work for the redemption of thy poor servant Foster, and if the prince who detains him will not, as they say, dismiss him as long as himself lives, Lord we pray thee to kill that cruel prince; kill him and glorify thyself upon him.* And now behold the answer: the poor captived gentleman quickly returns to us . . . . and brings us news that the prince which hath hitherto held him, was come to an *untimely death*, by which means he was now set at liberty."[4] Ransomed from captivity, Isaac Foster appears to have continued some years in the vicinity of Charlestown, and in May 1678, "was installed ffellow" of Harvard College, a Fellowship he seems to have held about two years.[5]

While thus occupied, the attention of the church of Charlestown was turned toward him, and Revs. John Sherman and Increase Mather recommended him to the com-

[3] Lossing's *Am. Hist. Rec.*, i, 393.
[4] *Magnalia*, i, 493.
[5] Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, ii, p. 337.

mittee of that church as the "fittest" or "suitablest person" to succeed Mr. Shepard in that pastorate.[6] During the presence of the Charlestown committee at Cambridge for the purpose of negotiating with Mr. Foster, in April 1678, Governor Hinckley of the Plymouth Colony, "came from the Church at Barnstable, and earnestly urged Mr. Foster to go thither." [7] Gov. Hinckley wrote two letters in behalf of the Barnstable church, saying:

"It is the joint desire both of our church and town that you would please give us a visit and impart some spiritual gift unto us, that so, having some taste of each other, both you and we may better discern what the mind of God may be respecting the motion above said, and accordingly apply ourselves .... For aught I know, it may, all things considered, be as comfortable for you as a more populous place." [8]

The language is archaic; but the argument has the familiarity of a committee-man's of to-day. The Charlestown overture fell through, apparently by reason of the people's preference for the son of their former minister, the third Thomas Shepard of fragrant memory in New England history. Why the Barnstable negotiation came to naught, does not appear.

The next passage in Mr. Foster's life brings him nearer to Hartford. A long quarrel in the church at Windsor, similar to that which divided the Church at Hartford, was, in the winter of 1678–9, in hopeful process of settlement. On the 14th of January 1679, the town voted to apply to the "Rev[d] Council," whose advice had been largely efficacious in composing the difficulties, for assistance in procur-

[6] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxi, 256.
[7] *Ibid*, xxxvi, 13.
[8] *Ibid*, pp. 14–16.

ing a minister.[9] The Council recommended Rev. Samuel Mather and Rev. Isaac Foster as suitable candidates. The congregation, by a majority vote, Jan. 27, 1679, agreed upon this recommendation to obtain "the said Mr. Foster, provided it appears by sufficient information from such Hon^ble and Rev^d Gent^m in the Massachusetts to whom we shall apply by a messenger, that he is not only Congregationally persuaded, but otherwise accomplished to carry on the work of Christ amongst us." [10]

To get this "sufficient information" as to how Mr. Foster stood on the Congregational or Presbyterial issue, Mr. Whiting, of the Second Church of Hartford, one of the Council in the case, wrote a letter to Increase Mather of Boston, to which letter John Allyn [11] added a postcript, bearing date February 27, 1679, In the letter Mr. Whiting says: [12]

"The two congregations at Windsor, having mutually ingaged themselves to submitt to the advice of a Councill, . . . they are accordingly advised to a re-union and walk in the Congregationall way according to Synods 48 and 62.[13] . . . . The Councill (under whose guidance the matter yet remains)

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[9] Stiles' *Windsor*, p. 184.

[10] *Ibid*, p. 185.

[11] John Allyn, of Windsor and Hartford, was one of the most important persons of the Colony. He was son of Matthew Allyn of Windsor; was born in England; was Deputy in the General Court in 1661 and 1662; Magistrate and Secretary in 1663–1665; and from 1667 to 1693, Secretary of the Colony, occupying besides many public trusts. His handwriting is visible everywhere in the documents of the period—in Town, Colonial, Probate, Religious Society records. One wonders at what must have been his marvelous industry. He married Nov. 19, 1651, Anne, daughter of Henry Smith of Wethersfield, and died Nov. 6, 1696. He sleeps under a eulogistically inscribed monument, which, however, gives him none too high a title to remembrance, in the Old Burying Ground.

[12] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxviii, 463–464.

[13] It is significant of the general yielding of contest on the Half-way-Covenant baptism question, that the Council, represented in this letter by Mr. Whiting, appeals as to a standard of orthodoxy, to the Half-way-Covenant Synod of 1662, whose conclusions Mr. Whiting, in 1666, had so vigorously opposed.

. . desires that you would be pleased (with the Rev^d M^r Oakes to whom I have also written to that end) to intimate in a few words whither M^r ffoster be from ingagement, and then how qualified in respect of godliness and learning, ... and particularly what his judgment is in respect of church order: whether indeed declaredly Congregationall, that being of considerable weight to the settlement of that people, as well as comfort of their neighbors."

To this letter of Mr. Whiting's, Increase Mather replied March 10, 1679:[14]

"Rev. & Dear Sir: I received your lre (with Capt. Allyn's name also subscribed) wherein you desire information concerning M^r Isaac Foster. I beleeve hee is truly godly. I know that hee is of good parts both nat^l & acquired, & indeed more psed in preaching than most I have known of his standing. As for his judg^t respecting church order I have not heard him fully declare himselfe. When he joyned the church in Charlestown[15] he . . . . that he was not satisfyed in that practice of imposing . . [illegible] respecting the work of grace, upon such as they admitted to full comunion; when some here regarded him to be a Presbyterian. This day hee was with me in my study. I desired him to tell me playnly what his notions were as to matters referring to church govt. His answer was that he believed he knew the reason of my proposal, for . . . . had acquainted him with what yourself had written to Mr. Oakes & me, & upon that account he was not so free to express himselfe; onely s^d that he had never upon any occasion declared against the way Congregational. To be sure he is as large respecting the subject of Baptisme as the Synod in 62. You cannot expect that Mr. O. & myselfe (being members of the Corporation) shld be forward in removing any of the Fellows from the Colledge, that are desirable; of which nūbr Mr. Foster is one. And I question whether his friends will be willing that hee shd goe

[14] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxviii, 193.
[15] Oct. 28, 1677.

so far as Windsor is from these pts. Yet if you see cause to promote an invitation that way, I shall not discourage you."

From all which, it appears that the art of finding out how a man stands on the main ecclesiastical question of the time, has not made much progress since 1679. Mr. Isaac Foster had all the wise caution of a modern candidate for a pulpit in a pretty evenly divided community; yet appears on the whole to have belonged on that side of the rather wavy and tenuous line which divided the ecclesiastical parties of the day, called the "large" or Presbyterian side.

On April 10th the Council, over the hands of John Allyn, James Richards, Samuel Hooker and John Whiting, reported[16] to the Windsor committee, their favorable opinions on the whole respecting Mr. Foster; but confessing to "a doubtfulness still abiding concerning his persuasion in point of church order;" and advising the sending of two men, Capt. Newberry and John Loomis, to Cambridge to interview Mr. Foster more carefully, and "in case they can obtain so much from him as shall capacitate them to assert that he is congregationally persuaded according [to the] Synod[s] [of] '48 and '62," that they invite him; "otherwise not to meddle." Four days after, the town accepted the Council's proposition, appointed the messengers, and agreed to give Mr. Foster seventy pounds a year if he came.[17] The messengers went to Cambridge and returned with a favorable account of Mr. Foster's "persuasions." Whereupon the congregation invited him to come to Windsor on trial, which he did, and with so manifest "satisfaction of his parts, ability and persuasion," that they not only tendered him a "unanimous call," but

[16] Stiles' *Windsor*, p. 185.
[17] *Ibid*, p. 186.

voted, instead of seventy, to give him a hundred pounds a year, and sent Daniel Clark back with "Mr. Foster to the Bay" to "further his return again."[18] This seemed to promise a very auspicious issue to Mr. Foster's Windsor candidacy, under the patronage of the ecclesiastical Council. But the matter fell through. Just why is unknown.

A curious coincidence of facts may have had some untraceable influence. A letter is extant,[19] bearing date May 28, 1679, while the Windsor matter was still pending, written by Rev. Samuel Hooker of Farmington to Increase Mather, speaking hopefully of Mr. Foster's ability to bring the Windsor people to "Peace according to Truth;" and ending with the statement, "I suppose you will heare by better hands of the great breach made upon Hartford by the death of Mr. Haines, who departed the 24 of this instant." On the back of this letter is endorsed in the hand of Increase Mather, without date, the following memorandum:

"Having discoursed with Mr. Foster upon his invitation from the Congregation at Windsor & finding that his spirit . . . . is altogether averse frō a closure with that motion wee dare not advise him to accept thereof, as concieving his call is not clear." Signed by Urian Oakes, Sam. Nowell, I. M. [Increase Mather], Saml. Terry, Thomas Graves.

It seems not improbable that the candidature of Mr. Foster, having been in a manner under the patronage of the stricter Congregational party—so far as significance lay in the destination—may have been not altogether acceptable to a man whose views at his church-membership had led to his being thought a "Presbyterian;" and it is not impossible that the vacancy at the First Church at Hartford by the death of a Presbyterially inclined minister may have prompted overtures

[18] *Ibid*, p. 186.

[19] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxviii, 339.

to him which had their influence in negativing his Windsor call. At all events to Windsor he did not go, and to Hartford not many months after he came; and Mr. Whiting, who had been anxious about his ecclesiastical proclivities, even as a "neighbor" six miles off, had opportunity to study them, as an associate minister, in Hartford town. But the whole process of his coming, and the whole story of his ministry while here, has sustained the same eclipse which obscures so much beside, in the early history of the First Church.

Some time in 1680, Mr. Foster married Mehitable [or Mabel] Willys, the widow of his Charlestown friend, Rev. Daniel Russell, granddaughter of Governor George Wyllys [or Willis] of Hartford, and niece of Rev. Joseph Haynes, Mr. Foster's predecessor in the First Church pastorate. He had one child, a daughter, Ann Foster, who, growing to womanhood, was admitted to full communion February 5, 1699, and the same year became the wife of Rev. Thomas Buckingham of the Second Church.[20]

The General Court granted Mr. Foster in 1681, two hundred acres of land; which were apparently never located till laid out to his heirs in 1703, in what is now the town of Thompson, and confirmed, three years later, to Rev. Thomas Buckingham and his wife Ann, Mr. Foster's daughter and heir.[21]

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[20] She was married December 14, 1699. After Rev. Mr. Buckingham's death in 1731, his widow married Rev. Wm. Burnham of Kensington, who died in 1750, leaving her again a widow. In her will, dated August 23, 1764, when she must have been upward of 80 years of age, she gave her "large silver tankard for the use of the North [or First] Church forever." This tankard the Church *sold* in 1803 for $30.55. She, also, in her will manumitted five slaves, Cato, Paul, Prince, Zippora, and Nanny, making them bequests of land and money. Previous to her death, she had by deed, given her house and homestead to the Second Church.

[21] *Col. Records*, iii, pp. 92–93.

Mr. Foster died in one of those epidemical sicknesses with which early Hartford seems to have been often afflicted. Bradstreet records in his journal, under date of August 21, 1682, "Mr Isaac Forstur, pastor of ye old chh. at Hartford dyed. He was aged about 30, a man of good Abilityes. His death has made such a breach yt it will not easily be made up."[22] And his co-laborer in the Hartford field, Mr. Whiting of the Second Church, writes in a letter to Increase Mather:

"I thought myself necessitated to hasten, having left some sickness begun here, which since hath grown to a great hight. Most families visited, many sick and weake and some sleep (about 9 or 10 persons in our town) whereof Mr. Foster (as you have heard) is one, a surprising and (circumstances considered) very awful stroake to us."[23]

The young Pastor lies with his predecessors; his slab recording at once his own burial-place and that of his successor; a successor who took not only his office, but married his widow, and so he vanished from among men.[24]

In the interregnum between the death of Mr. Foster and

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[22] *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, viii, p. 332.

[23] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxviii, p. 465.

[24] Mr. Foster left no will. The inventory of his estate was made to the Court February 12, 1683. The whole amount was £1,507 15*s.* 4*d.*

Among the items mentioned are:

Half the farm at Cambridge,	£500
A negroe called Catoe,	22
House and Lott,	200
A farm at Hoccanum,	200
A Viall and Cithern,	2

In connection with this item of Mr. Foster's estate, which inventories "A negroe called Catoe," it may be recorded that in the answer made in 1680 to the questions of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, it was said by Governor Leet: "For Blacks there comes sometimes 3 or 4 in a year from Barbadoes, and they are sold usually at the rate of £22 a piece, sometimes more sometimes less, according as men can agree with the masters of vessells, or Merchants that bring them thither. But few Blacks born, and but two Blacks christened as we know of."

the installation of his successor, the Church of Hartford was the recipient of a gift of a house and several parcels of land "to belong to the sayd Church and the ministry thereoff as a parsonage Land forever." The giver was John Holloway, who describes himself as an "unworthy member;" and who was moved to this act by the "Honour and Respect" he had to the Church, and the consideration that he had "no Relations in this Country." [25]

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[25] Mr. John Holloway, whose "deede of guift," dated November 14, 1682, is signed by "*his* X *mark*," died October 18, 1684; after which the accounts of the rental of the land given by him appear many years on the Society records. The memorandum of the gift on the record-book is as follows:

"1. The first parcell about one acre situate in Harttford abutting uppon Obadiah Spencers Land on the West and uppon Stephen Kelseys Land on the North & uppon the hyway South and East uppon which his House & Barn stands." [This is the lot on the angle of separation of Windsor and North Main streets. The property was let to Texell Ensworth yearly from 1685 to 1701, at a rental varying from £3 to £4 10. Ebenezer Spencer rented it from 1701 to 1704. Obadiah Spencer, Jr., from 1704 to 1705. Sergt. Nathaniel Goodwin, Sr., from 1706 to 1712, and John Barnard from 1713 to 1729, when the Society's accounts were continued in some volume now lost. On the 2d day of May, 1774, the Society by a committee, leased this property for 900 years to Jonathan Wadsworth for £141 15*s.* and an annual rental of "one wheat corn on the first Monday of January."]

"2. One parcell off meadow Land uppon the East side off Connecticut River in Harttford Containing eight acres abbutting uppon the great River uppon the west." [This land was let for many years to Roger Pitkin at £4 16*s.* a year.]

"3. One parcell in the pine ffielde containing Three acres be itt more or Less abutting uppon a hyway uppon the South and North and uppon W. Merrells his Land upon the east & uppon Joseph or John Colleyers Land uppon the West. [This land was leased for 999 years on January 19, 1759, to Caleb Turner for £15 and an annual rental of one silver penny. *Hartford Town Deeds*, vol. x, p. 588.]

"4. One parcell in the Little ox pasture Containing By estimation five acres be it more or Less Abutting uppon Mr. Richard Lord his Land and uppon. . . ."

"5. One parcell on the west side Connecticut River Called the Long hill Lotts; Containing By estimation ffive acres be it more or Less abutting upon . . . ."

Besides these "parcells" of land given by John Holloway, the same page of the Records says: "Allso the ffirst Church in Hartford haue,

"6. One parcell off Lande in the South meadow Containing ffive acres be it more or Less that John & Joseph Skinner have had uppon Rent many years abutting uppon . . . ."

Very near this time, also, the Church had several articles of Communion furniture, apparently memorial gifts, as appears by the following entries in the records:

"Hartford Church hath at Mrs Mary Gilberts left by the deacons for the Churches use Fower pewter dishes marked each of them with these letters $\frac{\text{R. B. D.}}{\text{H. C.}}$

"& Three Flagon Marked H. C. & one Table cloath Marked $\frac{\text{R. B. D.}}{\text{H. C.}}$ & One pewter Bason used for Baptism Left with William Goodwin, for the churches vse March 13th, $168\frac{5}{6}$."

"In the yeare 1700 Mrs Mary gilbert gaue one Puter fflagon to the ffirst Church in Harttford."

Here, in connection with the brief but apparently happy ministry of Mr. Foster, it may be as well as anywhere else, to glance at some early New England usages, most of which prevailed, doubtless, in the Hartford Church as in the churches generally.

Public services on the Lord's day began about 9 o'clock. Congregations were called to the meeting house by the beating of a drum, the blowing of a conch-shell or a horn, the display of a flag, or, if the community were so fortunate as to have a bell, by the "wringing of a bell."[26] Hartford

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"7. One parcell off Land more in the Long meadow Containing By estimation fower acres & a halfe which georg Sexton hath uppon Rent many yeares abutting upon . . . ."

"8. The ffirst Church in Harttford haue an interest or partt of a well In the hyway which hee, sd Holloway, helped to make and since his death the sayd Churches Tennants have used the same that Lived in the Churches House that was John Holloways and the Church payed Tyxhall Ensworth there ffirst Tennant for helpe repayring sayd well."

[26] New Haven had a "Drum" for this purpose as late as 1662 (See Davenport's letter to Winthrop of that date); Norwalk had a drum in 1678 as appears by vote of town-meeting in February: "Robbart Stuard ingages y^{t} his Son James shall beate the Drumb on the Sabbath and other ocations; is to have it for that cervice;" a "drum" was used in Cambridge in 1636 (See Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence*, b. i, c. 43); probably after the removal to Hartford of a bell which had been employed previously as early as 1632 (Paige's *Cambridge*, p. 17); Hadley had a conch-shell in 1749, and Montague in 1759–60 (See Dexter's *Congregationalism in Literature*, p. 452, *note*); Haverhill in 1652

Church had a bell as early as 1641, and in all probability from the first; it being with little doubt a part of the transported establishment from Cambridge.

Families generally divided at the church door; women and men separating to different sides of the house, and boys, to certain specified seats in the gallery or below, where an appointed functionary was employed, sometimes with a staff, to keep them in order.

Assembled in the meeting house—which in the coldest weather had no appliances for warmth—the services began with a "solemn prayer continuing about a quarter of an houre."[27] It is unnecessary to remark that all prayer in New England worship was "unstinted" or extemporaneous. "Stinted prayers" were one of the chief things, to escape from which the fathers came out of "Babylon." But it is a thing worthy of more particular observation, how absolutely all memory of the liturgical service of the old home land seems to have perished from the minds of those who came this side the water. The Prayer Book is the rarest of volumes in the contemporary libraries of the New England founders. Its expressions and phrases, which must have been a part of the very furnishing of their minds in childhood, are looked for in vain in their sermons, diaries, letters, or recorded sayings. They had left it utterly behind. The new, large liberty of "free prayer" was embraced by them with passionate intensity. They found it suited to the vary-

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used a horn; Sunderland in 1720 had a "flagge;" and Hartford employed a "flagg" in 1726, at a time when the bell was broken; the Society voting that "Mr. John Edwards at the charge of the Society purchase some Suitable Red bunting for a flagg to be set up on the State house to direct for metting vpon the publick worship of God." The bell was broken in 1725 and recast at the joint expense of the two Societies in 1727.

[27] Lechford, *Plaine Dealing*, p. 45.

ing necessities of their changeful, and oftentimes exigent circumstances, as no possible liturgy could be.

Prayer ended, the Teacher—or the Pastor, where the church had but one preaching officer—then read a passage of scripture, with expository comments. Mere reading, without exposition or "common placing" as it was called, was not looked upon with favor, in the early New England churches.[28]

After the scripture reading, "a PSALM usually succeeds. In some the Assembly being furnished with *Psalm-books*, they sing without the stop of Reading between every Line. But ordinarily the *Psalm* is read line after line by him whom the Pastor desires to do that Service; and the people generally sing in such *grave Tunes* as are most usual in the Churches of our nation."[29] The singing was, for the most part, more devout than melodious. Mather is able only to say of it, as late as 1727, when musical affairs in Massachusetts had already begun greatly to improve: "It has been commended by Strangers as generally *not worse* than what is in many other parts of the World."[30] The great source of the musical trouble, beside the neglect of all definite instruction, was the loss of musical notation, caused by the substitution of the

[28] By Cotton Mather's time (*Ratio Diciplinæ*, p. 67) the practice of reading without necessarily commenting, had so far obtained footing as to enable him to say "there is perfect *Charity*" respecting it; and to "put the Term of *dumb Reading*" on it, is "esteemed improper." The usage was one of slow growth, however, and against much disapproval. The General Association of Connecticut voted, in June, 1765, in favor of "the Decency and Propriety of making the Public reading of the Sacred Scriptures a part of the Public worship in our churches," and recommended "to the several associations to promote said practice among the several Chhs." But as late as 1810, the Council of Litchfield South Consociation felt called on to pass the following vote: "That it is expedient that a portion of the holy Scriptures be read every Sabbath in our congregations." *Manual*, 1855, p. 43.

[29] *Ratio Diciplinæ*, p. 52.

[30] *Ibid*, p. 54.

Bay Psalm Book—which was first published in 1640, containing no tunes—for Ainsworth's, or Sternhold and Hopkins' versions, which had been in previous use and which had the musical score.[31] Music became therefore a matter of tradition and memory. And as the Bay Psalm Book was in use nearly fifty years before a few tunes were inserted, there was ample time for tradition to vary and memory to die. To add to the difficulty, no instrumental accompaniment, save the pitch-pipe and tuning-fork, was allowed; such assistance being supposed forbidden by *Amos* v, 23, *I will not hear the melody of thy viols*, and other passages. Singing came therefore to the pass of utter confusion and poverty. Tunes called by the same name were scarcely recognizable in congregations only a few miles apart.

Many congregations did not attempt more than three or four tunes. The general custom was to use the Psalms in regular order; and the singing exercise, which seems to have occurred usually but once in each service, was from a quarter to a half hour in its dolorous duration.

About the first quarter of the 18th century, a general attempt was made to improve the music by the recall of "notes," and as it was termed "singing by rule." But it met with violent opposition. Many congregations were almost split on the question. The innovation was denounced as an insult to the memory of the fathers, and as tending to Papacy. "If we once begin to sing by note, the next thing will be to pray by rule, and preach by rule, and then comes

[31] Ainsworth's version is said to have been used in Plymouth seventy years, and in Salem, forty. Sternhold and Hopkins' was used however at Ipswich. The Bay Psalm Book was the first book ever published in British America, and is a version prepared by New England ministers, of whom were J. Eliot, R. Mather, and T. Welde. Palfrey's *N. E.*, ii, p. 41, *note*.

Popery." Ministers and people, deacons and congregation, were, in many places, at open hostility on this burning question. The interposition of the civil authority was in some instances necessary to compose the disturbances arising from the proposal to "sing by rule."

The history of the matter in this First Hartford Society well illustrates the already well-established conservatism of this organization. To set it forth in this connection, it will be necessary to anticipate the regular progress of this chronological narrative, and to bring forward to this place events occurring about forty years subsequently. Doubtless, affairs in a musical way had gone on here as generally, till about 1726 the subject of improved music began to be agitated in this region. The diary of Rev. Timothy Edwards, at East Windsor, and the records of the Windsor church, show that the new method was disquieting this Israel.[32]

In 1727, the pastor of this Hartford Church, Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, preached a "Singing Lecture" at East Hartford, in the pulpit of his nephew, Rev. Samuel Woodbridge.[33] The uncle was now seventy-one years of age and the nephew forty-four, and both were obviously on the side of

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[32] Dr. Tarbox, *Windsor Church 250th Anniversary*, pp. 97–100. See also Stoughton's "*Windsor Farmes*," pp. 96–98.

[33] The lecture was delivered in accordance with the action of the North Association of the County of Hartford, at Windsor, June 6, 1727: "This Association taking into Consideration the Case of Regular Singing are fully of Opinion that persons may well Improve their Time in taking pains to be Instructed in it as a means to bring persons Into the Love of that Excellent Improvement of their minds, and as a proper means to Introduce Singing of Psalms in Private Houses which thro want of Skill is too much neglected. And further we Judge this way of Introducing this way of Singing into our Congregations will much promote the Decency of our publick worshipping of our Redeemer in Singing his Psalms; & by the attaining of Vnderstanding In Singing many persons that Sit Silent at that part of worship will be able to open their mouths to the praise of God and Spiritual Edification of others: and that we may give our farther Testimony we agree that on the Last Wednesday of this Instant June a Singing Lecture be Held in Hartford on the East Side of the River, when we will endeavour to be present." *Association Records.*

the new method. The lecture was printed,[34] with a preface signed *Per Amicum*, perhaps written by the nephew, in which it is said: "The following Discourse was delivered at a Lecture for the Encouragement of *Regular Singing*, a comely & Commendable practice; which for want of *Care* in preserving, and skillful *Instructors* to revive, has Languished in the Countrey till it is in a manner *Lost and Dead;* yea it has been so *Long* Dead, as with some it *Stinketh*, who judge it a great Crime to use meanes to *Recover* it againe."

The lecture of the uncle, from the text, *Matthew* v, 16, *Let your light so shine*, etc., says: "Among the Contentions that have arisen in our times, an Endeavor to Rectify our Singing of Psalms, and the Recovery the Disorders thereof by bringing it to the Rule, hath been an occasion of Offense taken where none hath been given, which hath occasioned a very Unsuitable behaviour in some places Professing Godliness."

The aged preacher goes on to exhort: "Be careful of *Censuring Persons* only because they are desirous of and labour to Introduce Regular Singing. This is no Note of Unholiness or Unworthiness. . . . Be careful you do not Prejudice yourselves against it from such Objections as will not support your Opinion before Moderate and Unbyassed Persons."

He then proceeds to answer some objections to the new way, of which the mention of two will suffice: "Another Objection is that it is Endeavoured to be introduced only by *Young Men*," and that "Hereby we shall cast Reflection on our *Godly Ancestors*."

[34] The Duty of God's Professing People, in Glorifying their Heavenly Father; Opened and Applyed, in a Sermon Preached at a Singing Lecture, in Hartford, East Society, June the 28th 1727. New London: Printed and Sold by T. Green. 1727. 16 mo. Pp. i–iv To the Reader, "Per Amicum:" 1–16.

The same year the matter came before the General Association, met at Hartford, May 12th, a few days previous to the "Singing Lecture" just spoken of. Rev. Nathaniel Chauncy[35] read a paper which the Association, over the signature of "T. Woodbridge, Moderator," ordered printed, entitled "Regular Singing Defended and Proved to be the Only True Way of Singing the Songs of the Lord."[36] The subject proposed for discussion was: "Whether in Singing the Songs of the LORD we ought to proceed by a certain Rule, or to do it in any Loose, Defective, Irregular way that this or that People have Accustomed themselves unto." One of the reasons the essayist gives for the strong attachment to the old method is interesting. "Many will readily Grant that they [the singers by ear] use many Quavers and Semi-Quavers &c. and on this very account it is that they are so well pleased with it, and so loath to part with it: now all these Musical Characters belong wholly to Airy and Vain Songs, neither do we own or allow any of them in the Songs of the LORD."

But notwithstanding this committal of the old Pastor and of the General Association to the new way, the Hartford Church continued in the old several years longer. It sung as it had sung in Isaac Foster's day, till after the long pastorate of Timothy Woodbridge ended, and until he, after advocating the reform in vain, was gathered to his fathers.

The year after Mr. Woodbridge died, however, the Society took action, on the 20th of June, 1733, in this cautious and tentative manner:

"*Voted* that this Society are willing and Content that Such of them as Encline to Learn to Sing by Rule should

[35] Of Durham, the first graduate of Yale College, the only member of the "class" of 1702.

[36] New London, J. Green, 1727, 16mo, pp. 54.

apply themselves in the best manner they Can to gain a knowledge thereof. *Voted* and agreed that after the Expiration of three months, Singing by Rule shall be admitted to be practiced in the Congregation of this Society in their publick Worship on the Lord's day & until their annual Meeting in December next; & that then a Vote be Taken whether the Society will further proceed in that way or otherwise."

The two leaders of the opposing methods were then designated to "Take on them the Care of Setting the Psalm" for the periods specified: "Mr. William Goodwin as usuall," and "Mr. Joseph Gilbert jr. after the Expiration of the three months." Tried thus prudently for four months, the Society saw its way in December to vote "that singing by Rule be admitted and practiced in the Congregation of this Society in their publick Worshipping of God," and Mr. Gilbert was empowered to "sett the psalm." So that it was not long, probably, before it could have been said of the Hartford congregation, as Cotton Mather had quite exultantly said some years before of the improved condition of things in Massachusetts churches, that "more than a *Score* of Tunes are heard *Regularly Sung* in their Assemblies." [37]

After the singing of the Psalm, "the SERMON follows .... The *Length* of a Sermon .... is very like the Length of a *Tractate* among the Ancients," which Cotton Mather, who gives this definite comparison, further says is "*about an hour.*" [38] He, however, stipulates for greater "Liberty" on occasion. The preaching was, for the most part, from a very small brief. The practice of extended notes or fully written discourses, Mather speaks of as taken up only of "later years;" and he elsewhere says [39] that Mr. Warham of

[37] *Ratio*, p. 55.
[38] *Ibid*, p. 57.
[39] *Magnalia*, vol. i, p. 399.

Windsor, was the first man in the country to use fully written notes in preaching.

In some places, as in New Haven, the congregation were accustomed to rise and stand "uncovered" at the reading of the text, as a fitting token of reverence for the word of God.[40] Prayer and Benediction concluded the service.

The second service of the Lord's Day was generally "about two in the afternoone;" a substantial repetition of the morning exercise, with a change of parts in the officiating ministers when a church had two preaching elders; the Pastor opening with exposition and prayer, and the Teacher delivering the sermon.[41]

The contribution was then taken, "One of the Deacons saying, Brethren of the Congregation, now there is time left for contribution, wherefore, as God hath prospered you, so freely offer."[42] The people came forward in the order of their supposed "dignity," and made such offerings as they chose, of money or written promise to pay hereafter, or sometimes of chattel articles of merchandise. In the First church of New Haven, and probably elsewhere, wampum was frequently presented as a part of the contribution.[43]

The seating of people in the congregation was a matter of grave and solemn concern. In the Hartford Society it was the occasion of constantly recurring votes, of which it will suffice to give only a specimen or two.

Jan. 4, 1685. "Voted by the Society that thay desired

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[40] Hutchinson, i, 430, *note*. "Uncovered" suggests that men sometimes wore their hats in church.

[41] Lechford, p. 47.

[42] *Ibid*, 48.

[43] The Town of New Haven has the record in this connection that "much of the wampum brought in is so faulty that the officers can hardly or not at all pass it away in any of their occasions." A fact significantly suggestive of the occasional quality of a portion of the contents of a modern contribution box.

Capt. John Allyn to seate the people in our meeting howse, according to his Judgement and Discresion, Boath in y^e^ Lower Roome and in y^e^ Gallery."

Dec. 28, 1691. "Made choyce of Coll John Allyn, Capt Cyprian Nicols, Lieut Joseph Wadsworth, Decon Joseph Easton and Decon Joseph Olmsted to new Seate the good people belong to the first Meeting house in Hartford, thare beeing need of that worke to be done."

The seaters of the house were supposed to consider the age, parentage, and general social standing of all members of the congregation, and to arrange their position in the meeting-house accordingly.[44] Proximity to the pulpit was the general principle determining the dignity of the sitting, modified however by the question of "square pew" or "long seat;" square pews having priority of honor. Frequent heart-burnings and sometimes long-continued family-feuds grew out of these peremptory assignments of men to what the seaters chose to consider their proper place.

Boys were a very troublesome factor of early New England congregations. Votes concerning this apparently irrepressible portion of the Sabbath worshipers are scattered all along the town and society records. Out of a great many, a few specimens must suffice.

Oct. 30, 1643. The Town voted, "If any boy shall be

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[44] In New Haven First Church several formal votes of the sittings are preserved, of which a specimen is given by Dr. Bacon, *Historical Discourses*, pp. 310–312. In Glastonbury the "dignity" of pews was thus ordered:

1. The pewes next the pulpit (exclusive of the minister's pew) to be the first seat and the highest.
2. The second pew to be the second seat.
3. The fore seat [in the body of the house] to be the third seat.
4. The third pew and the second seat to be equal.
5. The fourth pew from the pulpit and the third seat to be equal, etc.

It was not till 1757 that men and their wives were seated together in that church. Chapin's *Glastonbury*, p. 79. In East Hartford the "dignifying" of the house continued till 1824. Goodwin's *East Hartford*, p. 132.

taken playing or misbehaving himself in the time of publick services whether in the meeting house, or about the walls without [the same to be proved by two witnesses] he shall be punished presently before the assembly depart, and if any shall be the second time faulty one witness shall be accounted enough."

Dec. 23, 1697. The Society "appointed Thomas Butler to looke after the Boyes that are to Sett in the meeting house from the North Doore to the . . . . that they do nott play upon the Sabath or in time of publique worship, and they made choyce of George Northway to Looke after the Boyes in the South side of the gallery."

Dec. 15, 1716. "Voted that all the Boyes under sixteen shall sit below, sume in the gard seets and sum in the alley."

Dec. 19, 1726. Voted that "Messrs John Cook and Thomas Ensign Take Care of the boyes . . . . to observe the disorderly behaviour of boyes and young men in the Gallery at Meeting, and acquaint the Tything men thereof for presentment to be prosecuted in the Law."

Obviously the "Boyes" were a troublesome sort of people. But the effectual cure of the disorder—the seating of families together instead of separating husbands and wives, parents and children—does not seem to have occurred to our venerated ancestors.

One of the important early ecclesiastical usages in New England was the Weekly Lecture. Some reference has already been made[45] to the prominent place this mid-week religious service held in the life of the time. To some extent a greater latitude of subjects than was allowed to Sunday services, was accorded to Lecture-day, and the general morals and manners of the community were made the topic of pulpit animadversion and comment. Mr. Cotton's practice of discussing the whole range of affairs in public and private

[45] *Ante*, p. 69–71.

behaviors, was doubtless to a considerable extent indicative of what was customary and expected on these occasions, and it was very likely the anticipation of a free handling of matters coming home to men's business and bosoms, which gave the lecture such popularity, that in Massachusetts at least the time and frequency of the lectures had to be made the topic of prescription and limitation by law.[46]

One feature of Lecture-day asks, however, a moment's more distinct notice; a feature which possibly added to its solemnity and popularity. It was the day, and lecture hour the time, for the infliction of the sentence of the law on persons convicted of misdemeanors against society. The stocks, the pillory, and the whipping-post were in close proximity to the meeting-house; and the Lecture-day warnings against wrong-doing uttered in the latter, were often reinforced by practical illustration of the consequences of wrong-doing, at some one of the former. A few examples will answer:

June 4, 1640. "Nicholas Olmsteed . . . . is to stand vppon the Pillery at Hartford the next lecture day dureing the time of the lecture. He is to be sett on a lytle before the beginning & to stay thereon a litle after the end."[47]

Mch. 5, 1644. "Susan Coles for her rebellious cariedge toward her mistris, is to be sent to the howse of correction and be keept to hard labour & course dyet, to be brought forth the next lecture day to be publiquely corrected, and so to be corrected weekely vntil Order be giuen to the contrary."

"Walter Gray, for his misdemeanour in laboring to inueagle the affections of Mr. Hoocker's mayde, is to be publiquely corrected next lecture Day."[48]

[46] *Ante*, p. 69. See also *Mass. Col. Rec.*, i, p. 109, where it was ordered "that hereafter noe lecture shall begin before one a clocke in the after noone;" a regulation which was afterward revoked [*Ibid*, i, p. 290] and this substituted: "Ordered that the time of beginning of lectures shalbee left to the Churches."

[47] *Col. Rec.*, i, p. 50.

[48] *Ibid*, p. 124.

Oct. 17, 1648. "The Court adjudgeth Peter Bussaker, for his fillthy and prophane expressions (viz. that hee hoped to meete some of the Members of the Church in hell ere long, and hee did not question but hee should) to be committed to prison, there to be kept in safe custody till the sermon, and then to stand the time thereof in the pillory, and after sermon to bee seuerely whipt." [49]

It was a stern, hard age. Such spectacles of public ignominy and physical suffering had their bad influence, as well as the possible good they were sincerely intended to serve. The worst and the best that can be said of the Hartford practice in these matters is, that it was a practice general to the age, and there is no evidence that its coarseness or severity was greater than was common everywhere.

The Funeral services of early New England were severely austere. Lechford says of the time, about 1640,[50] "At Burials, nothing is read nor any Funeral Sermon made, but all the neighborhood, or a good company of them come together by the tolling of the bell, and carry the dead solemnly to his grave, and there stand by him while he is buried."

The first known instance of prayer at a funeral is that at the burial of Rev. Wm. Adams of Roxbury, August 1685, of which it is recorded, "Mr. Wilson, minister of Medfield, prayed with the company before they went to the grave." [51] But habits gradually ameliorated. Cotton Mather writes in 1726: [52] "In many Towns of New England, the Ministers make agreeable *Prayers* with the People come together at the *House*, to attend the FUNERAL *of the Dead*. And in some the Ministers make a short *Speech* at the Grave."

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[49] *Ibid*, p. 168.

[50] *Plaine Dealing*, pp. 87–88.

[51] Palfrey's *N. E.*, iii, p. 495, *note*. Sewall records, January 22, 1697–8, at the burial of Capt. Joshua Scottow, a very important man in Massachusetts, "No Minister at Capt. Scottow's Funeral."

[52] *Ratio*, p. 117.

The coffin, generally painted black, was borne on a bier carried by relays of bearers, for whom, as often for the company generally, refreshments were prepared by the family of the dead person. Sometimes the nature and amount of these funeral supplies was matter of regulation by will. An instance is in the will of Edward Veir of Wethersfield, dated July 19, 1645: "My mynd is that there shalbe 20*s.* bestowed vppon p'uissions of wyne, bear, caks and such like, of which may be had for my buriall."[53] It was long the custom for the women to walk foremost in the procession when one of their own sex was buried, and for the men to precede when a man was buried.

Marriages, too, in the early period of New England, lacked the formality of accompanying religious ceremony.

The Plymouth Colony people brought over with them "y^e^ laudable custome of y^e^ Low-Cuntries in which they had lived," where it "was thought most requisite to be performed by the magistrate, as being a civill thing, ... and no wher found in y^e^ gospell to be layed on y^e^ ministers as a parte of their office."[54] In the Bay Colony, too, pains were early taken to "bring it a custom by practice for magistrates to perform"[55] the ceremony of marriage; though no legislation, either there or at Plymouth, against the act of ministers seems to have been regarded as necessary. It was a power not esteemed inherent in the new conceived office of the ministry. It is said[56] the first marriage ratified by a minister in Massachusetts was in 1686.

[53] *Col. Rec.*, i, p. 464.

[54] Bradford's *History of Plymouth*, p. 101.

[55] Winthrop, i, p. 389. The Colonial sentiment on this subject found quicker expression in custom than the sentiment of the home country, of course; but in August 1653, Parliament enacted that after the 20th of September following, all marriages should take place "before some Justice of the Peace;" a bit of Puritan legislation which it is needless to say did not survive the Restoration.

[56] *Proceeding's Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1858–60, p. 283.

In Connecticut, also, all early marriages were ratified by the civil magistrate. It was not till October 11, 1694, that the General Court enacted the following law, empowering ministers to marry :

"This Court *doe* for the sattisfaction of such as are conscienciously desirous to be marryed by the ministers of their plantations doe grant the ordayned ministers of the severall plantations in this Colony liberty to joyne in marriage such persons as are qualifyed for the same according to law." [57]

Sometimes, however, a "Solemnity, called a *Contraction*, a little before the Consummation of a *Marriage* was allowed of. A *Pastor* was usually employed, and a *Sermon* also preached on this Occasion." [58] How generally this custom of "Ancient *Sponsalia*" prevailed is difficult to say,[59] though Mather, writing in 1726, speaks of it as "wholly laid aside."

In connection with this question of marriage usages, it may be remarked in passing, that about the period now treated of and for a long time afterward, a strange relaxation of the early morals of the earliest New England period is observable. The matter became the subject of astonishingly frequent, and singularly familiar and matter-of-fact dealing on the part of the churches; as is testified to by almost all old church records.[60] Whether a curious social custom which widely prevailed in New England in the intercourse of young people in process

[57] *Col. Rec.*, iii, 136.

[58] *Ratio Disciplinæ*, p. 112.

[59] Dr. J. H. Trumbull deciphers from the *Ms.* note-book of Henry Wolcot of Windsor, the heads of a sermon preached by Rev. John Warham, November 17, 1640, "at the contracting of Benedict Alvord and Abraham Randall," who married, respectively Joan Newton and Mary Ware. The text was *Ephes.* vi, 10–11, and one of the "uses" of the discourse was to teach "that the State of marriage is a war-faring condition." Trumbull's notes to Lechford's *Plaine Dealing*, pp. 87–88.

[60] The traces of the matters referred to, on the meager pages of the First Church records, are said to have caused Dr. Hawes to remark, "We have but one small volume of Church Records, and I wish that was burned."

of courtship, and which has happily long ago disappeared, had any considerable influence in causing the trouble referred to, is a point about which antiquaries are disagreed.[61] There can be less question, however, that the chief part of these instances which come under modern observation on the pages of ancient church memorials, belong to the half-way covenant membership, and not to the full communion.

On the whole, a retrospect of the early usages of New England, leads to no special longing for the old times to come back again, nor encourages the fancy that "the former days were better than these." We have our evils and troubles. Our fathers had theirs. The sternnesses and severities of their days were partly the result of the hardness of their lot, and the difficulty of the work they were called to do. Well, if amid the softer manners and easier conditions of life with us, we lose not their sturdiness of faith and their loyalty to the truth as they conceived of it!

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[61] The custom known as Bundling, which Webster defines, "To sleep on the same bed without undressing — applied to the custom of man and woman, especially lovers, thus sleeping," was undoubtedly prevalent in New England. The usage has, with various modifications, existed in Scotland, Ireland, England, Wales, Holland, and elsewhere. It did not wholly disappear from New England till near the commencement of the present century. It was often defended as entailing no disastrous moral or social consequences; as being the expedient of poverty in the times of hard labor, cold houses, and brief hours of social intercourse; but there cannot be much doubt that the usage was to some extent the occasion of the tarnishing of the records of the New England churches, and of the fair names of some of the not least honored of New England families.

CHAPTER X.

TIMOTHY WOODBRIDGE AND HIS TIMES.

Isaac Foster was succeeded by Timothy Woodbridge. Mr. Woodbridge was the son of the Rev. John Woodbridge[1] — himself son of a clergyman of the same name — who came to New England, in 1634, with his uncle, Rev. Thomas Parker of Newbury, Mass. The father, after residing some years at Newbury in positions of public trust, was ordained minister of the church at Andover, Mass., October 24, 1645. Returning, however, to England he became minister of the parish of Barford St. Martin's, in Wiltshire, where his sixth child, Timothy, was born, and was baptized January 13, 1656. Ejected from his parish at the time of the Episcopal Restoration, he returned to America in 1663, and became an associate with his uncle, Thomas Parker, in the ministry at Newbury. Of young Timothy, who was thus seven years of age when his father resumed his New England habitation, noth-

[1] Rev. John Woodbridge was born at Stanton in Wilts in 1613. His mother was daughter of Rev. Robert Parker. Coming to New England with his uncle Thomas Parker, he was town clerk in Newbury; deputy to the General Court; Surveyor of Arms, etc. In 1643 he taught school at Boston. In 1639 he married Mercy, daughter of Gov. Thomas Dudley. In 1647 he returned to England and was minister of the parish of Barford St. Martin's, Wilts; from which at the Restoration, he was ejected. He returned to New England July 27, 1663, with a numerous family, and became assistant to his uncle Thomas Parker at Newbury, but was dismissed, November 21, 1670. He was an *Assistant* in the Mass. Colony in 1683 and 1684, and died at Newbury March 17, 1695. See Mather's *Magnalia*, i, 542–544, and Miss M. K. Talcott's article, *N. E. Gen. and Hist. Reg.*, July, 1878.

ing is known till his graduation at Harvard College with eight classmates, in 1675.[1] The question he discussed at the graduation exercises was, "*An Eclipsis solis tempore passionis Christi fuit naturalis?*", respecting which he took the negative.[2]

It is conjectured on partial evidence that young Mr. Woodbridge may, in 1682, have been exercising ministerial functions in Kittery, Maine,[3] not far from his father's home at Newbury. But the first authentic memorial of him in a clerical capacity is in an entry on the Hartford Society[4] records, showing that of "a rate" of eighty pounds "for the year '83 to be payed in '84," for Mr. Woodbridge and "other expenses about procuring a minister. . . Mr. Woodbridges part of it was £50." One hundred pounds was raised for him "from March '84 to March 1685,"[5] and on November 24, 1684,

[2] Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, ii, p. 448.

[3] Williamson's *Hist. Maine*, i, p. 570. J. Backus, *Hist. Baptists*, i, p. 503. But the Mr. Woodbridge who was at Kittery in 1682, was quite as likely the father John, as the son Timothy, if either. The only positive trace of him between his graduation and his appearance at Hartford in 1683, is in a note book of his classmate John Pike, which relates apparently to a class-meeting jollification, three years after graduation. "June 10, 1678, M^r^ Timothy Woodbridge and M^r^ John Emerson for Informing A Batchelour of their Indisposition to hold a Question in y^r^ Commenc^nt^ making their degree Rather y^e^ Reward of stelth y^n^ Learning or Virtue are (for this y^r^ practice) Contrary to Reason & Custom Amerced A gallon of Sack to y^e^ Rest of y^e^ Classis.—As attest JOHANNES PIKE." Sibley, ii, p. 454, *note*.

[4] It may as well be noted here, once for all, that there is no *remaining* record of any action by the Church in distinction from the Society, respecting the call of any Pastor here, down to the call of Dr. Hawes, in 1818.

[5] A letter of Mr. Woodbridge to Cotton Mather, belonging to this year, is printed in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxviii, p. 638. Its local reference, in the paucity of other details is interesting. "Here is little newes. Mr. Whiting and his relations here have lately entered suit for a considerable parcell of land formerly belonging to his father, sold by his mother after his father's decease, and possessed near 30 year without any molestation, and has recovered first Judgment of Court, but the defendants (according to the custome here) have entered a Review, so execution is stopt. It has jogged all the attoms of the whole ant heap, and almost everybody seemes someways to be concerned in it. He is going on the morrow to ordain Mr. Nath. Chancy of Hatfield. By the beginnings it is feared we may have a sickly summer this year."

"at a meeting of the First Church and Congregation in Hartford formerly under Mr Isaac Fosters ministry it was voted that Mr Timothy Woodbridge Shall have the Summe of one Hundred pounds by the yeare, paid him so long as he shall Continue with us in the work of the ministry;" and a committee was empowered to "do what shall be necessary in and about sd Mr Woodbridge his ordination as they shall see Cause and God shall give opportunity."[6]

The date of the ordination, twice recorded by Mr. Woodbridge in the first extant volume of records of this Church, was Nov. 18, 1685, but no account of proceedings on the occasion is preserved to us. Nor is the exact time when he was taken by his predecessor's widow, Mrs. Mehitable Foster,[7] to be her third clerical husband, certainly known; but that event is believed to have been in 1684, previous to his formal succession to her late consort's pastorate.

His settlement was followed, October, 1687, by the usual legislative appropriation to him of two hundred acres of land, which was, in 1707, located and set off to him at "Chestnut Hill," in Killingly.[8]

Mr. Woodbridge was now nearly thirty years old. The time at which he entered on the ministry was one of general religious depression, prolonging and increasing for many years. The demoralizing influences of the protracted wars

[6] No full memorandum of the expenses of the ordination is extant. But the Society's current account with several of its members preserves a few items:—

Payed to Caleb Stanley for Beefe for Mr. Woodbridges ordaynation	£3.	02. 00
2 Bushells Wheate for the ordaynation		9. 00
3 Bushells Barley Mault - -		13. 06
In cash to Mr Olcott for 4 lb. butter for Mr. Woodbridges ordaynation - - - - -		2. 00
Nathaniell Goodwine for a sheep for Mr. Woodbridges ordaination		18. 00
So much payd Mrs. Gilbert for Severall things for Mr. Woodbridges ordaynation, - - - -	-3.	00. 00

[7] See *ante*, p. 220.

[8] *Conn. Col. Rec.*, iii, 245, and v, 77.

with the Indians, when the Indians were hostile, and of contact with them when they were peaceable, were manifest on every side. Over six hundred of the young men of New England had been killed in battle or murdered by the Indians in the two years of King Philip's war, terminated by Philip's death, Aug. 12, 1676, and in the war with the Eastern Indians which followed. Every eleventh man in the militia had been killed; every eleventh house had been burnt; taxes were heavy, and the Colonies were in debt. It is true these losses of men and habitations belonged far more to other Colonies than to Connecticut; but the necessity of keeping so large a part of her militia in the field; of fortifying her towns, and exposing her youth to the dangers and temptations of camp-life, had involved the Colony in difficulties, financial and moral, which were clearly manifest.

The operation of the half-way covenant in abolishing the visible distinction of God's people and the people of the world, was widening, and some of its more indirect effects in generally undermining the church and the institutions of religion were becoming painfully actual, if not indeed clearly recognized. The church was being filled with people sufficiently religious to be in covenant, and to impart covenant privileges to their children, but not religious enough to profess, or to have, any personal religious experiences, or to come to the Lord's Supper. Sins of drunkenness and licentiousness were astonishingly prevalent in a community only a few years before planted by people of devoutest manners and sternest principles.[9]

[9] The records of the First Church respecting these vices among those in covenant, as well as public records and the testimony of printed sermons of the time, amply bear out the above statements. It was in 1683, the first year of Mr. Woodbridge's preaching in Hartford, that Samuel Stone (the son of Rev. Samuel, the colleague of Hooker), himself once a "preacher some yeares

In his Election Sermon, preached at Hartford in 1674, Rev. James Fitch of Saybrook, had exhorted:

"Let us call to minde the first Glory in the first planting of New England and of the Churches here. Let me say multitudes, multitudes were converted to thee, even to thee O Hartford, to thee O New Haven, and to thee O Windsor. . . . . Shall New England Churches be forced and spoiled of their peace and partly by their Brethren, yea by their children the rising generation; Nay Brethren let me this day plead the cause of your Sister, do not so foolishly with your Sister: Nay, Children, let me plead the cause of your Mother, do not so foolishly with your Mother: but if it prove so, *as for her where shall her shame go?*"

And in 1686, on a similar public occasion, Rev. John Whiting, previously of this Church, had said:

"Let me speak freely herein, it is sensibly certain we have got nothing by wandering, and therefore it is time to give it over: I may confidently assert in the audience of this Assembly, That scarce (if ever) people had more cause to make that conclusion than wee, Hos. ii, 7, *I will go and return to my first Husband, for then it was better with me than now.* Shall I say, it was better everywhere, in Family, Church, Town and Colony; and better everyway, we had better peace and plenty, better health and harvests in former than in later years; it was better for soul and body, better in Spirituals, less Sin; and better in temporals, less Sorrow: O that *New England might* yet say it in good earnest, and do accordingly, *I will return to my first Husband.* . . . . Look into families and other societies is there not too visible and general a declension; are we not turned (and that quickly too) out of the way wherein our fathers walked?" [10]

Particularly Mr. Whiting inveighs against "that woful

in severall places with generall acceptance," fell into the Little River and was drowned, after spending a day "first at one and then at another Taverne." See Appendix VII.

[10] *Election Sermon*, John Whiting, pp. 22, 35.

trade of Indian drunkenness," in "feeding their lusts for filthy lucres sake, ... wringing that little they have out of their hands." [11]

But beside all the demoralizing influences of the border-life experiences of the colonists, and the perverted ecclesiastical system introduced by the half-way covenant, there was the distraction of continual political anxiety. The restoration of the monarchy in England, in 1660, was followed by constant attempts to restrict civil liberty there and in the American provinces. The charter of the city of London was taken away and declared forfeited. Those of other great English towns suffered the same fate.

The colonists, this side of the water, looked with constant terror to the machinations of unscrupulous enemies at Court, who were urging the forfeiture of the privileges granted to New England. James II. succeeded his profligate brother, Charles, on the 6th of February, 1685—the year Mr. Woodbridge was installed Pastor at this place—and, at once, appointed a new government for Massachusetts, the charter

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[11] *Ibid*, p. 29. This crime of complicity in the debauchery of the Indians finds frequent mention in the Election Sermons. Rev. Timothy Cutler, afterwards Rector of Yale College, in his sermon preached at Hartford in 1717, says, "Doth not Drunkeness continue, yea and Increase by yearly Accession, and like a Mighty Torrent Bear down the Force of all the Laws that have been enacted against it and all the Pains that are used? Can any Man Shut his Eyes or stop his Ears from Observing it among the Indians in our Towns, when it is so Apparent in their Staggerings to and fro, their Apish Gestures, and their Hideous Yellings in our Streets? And is this all they get by Dwelling among us CHRISTIANS, that they are made more Stupid and Polluted People than they were before?"

But it was not the Indians only who drank. The Preacher goes on to inquire: "And do not too many among us Stain their Profession by this Sin? Can't we see Persons and Families, Estates, Healths, Bodies and Souls Undone by this Evil? And it is well Worthy of your Notice, whether there are Sufficient Provisions for the Prevention of it. I have been the more Earnest and Full upon this general Head for it looks to me like the Approaches of a GENERAL DELUGE." pp. 49–50.

of its Colony being declared void. Sir Edmund Andros landed at Boston, as Governor of New England, in December 1686. He imposed restraints upon the public press, appointing Edward Randolph, one of the bitterest opposers of New England's liberties, as the licenser. He imposed rigorous restrictions upon marriages. He introduced the Episcopal service into the South Church at Boston. He declared all titles to property under the vacated charter invalid, and with "four or five of his council"[12] laid what taxes he thought proper.

Connecticut's turn came a little later. Andros arrived in Hartford, October 31, 1687, accompanied by soldiers, and demanded the Charter, declaring the government dissolved. The Assembly debated and delayed. Governor Treat represented to Andros the hardships of the people in planting the Colony, and in building up their scanty civilization in the wilderness, and the evil and sorrow that would be brought by wresting from them the Patent under which they had lived and on which they had rested. Debate was prolonged till nightfall. Candles were brought and the Charter was laid on the table. Crowds of excited people were gathered. Suddenly the lights were extinguished. When re-lighted, the Charter had vanished. Snugly hid, by the hand of Captain Wadsworth, in the hollow of the oak to which it gave its name, it reposed till the downfall of James and the accession of another English government, gave hope again for colonial liberty. Andros, however, took the administration of Connecticut into his hands, and wrote "Finis" on the record book of the government, which he declared ended.

The downfall of James and the accession of William, followed as it was by the glad reappearance of the Charter,

[12] *Hutchinson*, i, p. 361.

on May 9th, 1689, from its hiding place in the oak, changed doubtless, but scarcely abated, the excitement of the public mind.

The accession of William was shortly followed by declaration of war between England and France; and war between England and France meant war between Canada and New England, and war, moreover, attended by all the horrors of Indian barbarity. In 1690 Schenectady was pillaged, and sixty of its inhabitants put to death with savage cruelty. Salmon Falls suffered in the same year a similar fate. The whole country was tremulous with fear. A similar destiny might overtake any frontier settlement. All the males in Connecticut, except aged and infirm, were ordered on watch, by turns.[13]

These measures for home defence were followed by repeated military expeditions in coöperation with the military of the other Colonies, to the frontiers of New York and Massachusetts extending through several years, entailing large expense and hardship.

Meantime, it is apparent from various sources[14] that more than usual severity of flood and storm, and prevalence of disease, and scantiness of crops, marked this whole period; so that the twenty concluding years of the seventeenth century were among the gloomiest passages of New England history.

Against all these adverse influences, the best men of the colonies, in Church and State, made what head they could. In Massachusetts, the Court, at the request of the Elders, called a Synod, which met Sept. 10–20, 1679, and which is

[13] *Col. Rec.*, iv, p. 18.

[14] See Proclamations of Fast Days in the various Colonies (specimens of which *Conn. Col. Rec.*, iii, p. 46, iii, p. 131–132); Election Sermons; Sewall's *Diary*; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, v, etc.

known as the Reforming Synod, to take the alarming condition of religious matters into consideration. Among the evils which the Synod pointed out[15] were "great and visible decay of the power of Godliness amongst many professors, . . pride in respect of apparel, . . oaths and imprecations in ordinary discourse, . . Sabbath breaking," neglect of "discipline extended toward children of the covenant, . . lawsuits, . . intemperance, the heathenish and idolatrous practice of health drinking, . . breaches of the seventh commandment, . . mixed dancing, light behaviour, unlawful gaming, . . oppression, . . incorrigibleness under lesser judgments."

In order to redress these evils, the Synod recommended, among other things, a re-affirmation of the "faith and order in the gospel . . expressed in the [Cambridge] Platform of discipline;" carefulness that none "be admitted to communion in the Lord's supper without making a personal and publick profession of faith and repentance;" the stricter observance of "discipline;" the more adequate supply of church officers, "there being in most congregations only one teaching officer for the burden of the whole congregation; . . solemn and explicit renewal of covenant;" fostering of "schools of learning," and an endeavor "to cry mightily unto God both in ordinary and extraordinary manner that he would be pleased to rain down righteousness upon us."[16]

Here in Connecticut, religious endeavor took other forms. Moved by the Elders, the Assembly, at its session in May 1680, appointed a Fast to be held in June, and, at the same time, recommended

"To the ministry of the Colony to cattechise the youth in

[15] *Magnalia*, ii, pp. 273–277.
[16] *Ibid*, pp. 278–282.

their respective place that are under twenty yeares of age in the Assembly of Divines Cattechisme or some other orthodox cattechisme on the Sabboth Dayes," and also "recommended to the ministers to keepe a lecture weekly . . . . in each county as they shall agree."[17]

These proclamations were repeated often; that of October 1683, being especially earnest in declaring it

"Evident to all whoe observe the footsteps of Divine provdence that the dispensation of God toward his poore wilderness people have been very solemne, awfull and speakeing for many yeares past, and perticularly toward o[r]selves in this colony the present yeare by reason of generall sickness in most places and more than ordinary mortality in some, as allso excessive rains and floods," and also in the "bereavement of so many churches of a settled ministry."[18]

These efforts of magistrates and ministers were not without some considerable measure of benefit. The recommendations of the Court, in 1680 especially, resulted in "county meetings of the ministers every week" for years after, and seem also to have done much to prepare the way for the more organized ecclesiastical establishment of the future.[19] Something we need not hesitate to call revivals of religion, however imperfect the standard of estimate, from time to time appeared.

Such an experience came to this Hartford Church in the winter and spring of 1695–6. It was at a period of general alarm on account of Indian disturbances along the Connecticut river in Hampshire County in Massachusetts. The crops of the previous season had been cut off; of which one indication remains upon the Society's record of December 26, 1695, "Mr. Woodbridge abated by reason of

[17] *Col. Rec.*, iii, pp. 64–65.
[18] *Ibid*, pp. 131–132.
[19] Trumbull, i, p. 480.

the badness of the year Ten pounds of his sallery." The community was obviously under unusual religious impression; so that on Sunday, February 23, 1696—doubtless in the presence of the gathered congregation—sixty-eight persons, thirty-three males and thirty-five females, gave assent to the Covenant.[20] On Sunday, March 8th, eighty-three more, thirty-nine males and forty-four females, took the same Cov-

[20] The Covenant which was on this occasion subscribed to, is the earliest of the forms which are preserved in the history of this Church. It is as follows: "We do solemnly in y^e^ presence of God and this Congregation avouch God in Jesus Christ to be our God one God in three persons y^e^ Father y^e^ Son & y^e^ Holy Ghost & y^t^ we are by nature childr^n^ of wrath & y^t^ our hope of Mercy with God is only thro' y^e^ righteousnesse of Jesus Christ apprehended by faith & we do freely give up ourselves to y^e^ Lord to walke in communion with him in y^e^ ordinances appointed in his holy word & to yield obedience to all his comands & submit to his governm.^t^ & wheras to y^e^ great dishon^r^ of God, Scandall of Religion & hazard of y^e^ damnation of Souls, y^e^ Sins of drunkenness & fornication are Prevailing amongst us we do Solemly engage before God this day thro his grace faithfully and conscientiously to strive against those Evills and y^e^ temptations that May lead thereto." This is in Mr. Woodbridge's hand. But this form of Covenant was probably a new one, drawn up by him in view of the then prevalent interest and the then "Prevailing" sins; for his record for ten years previous shows, from the earliest date of his ministry, the clear distinction between the Covenanting and Full Communion members. And it is the more strange that Dr. Hawes (in his *Tribute to the Memory of the Pilgrims*, p. 122) should have fallen into Dr. Trumbull's error of saying that the half-way-covenant was "not adopted by a single church in this State till 1696"; when this record book of his own Church, on every page of ten years antecedent to that time, shows the contrary. See, also, *ante*, pp. 204 and 207 and *notes* thereto.

The Covenant owned in the days of Mr. Woodbridge's two successors, Wadsworth and Dorr, reads thus: "You do solemnly in the presence of God and before this Congregation avouch god in Christ, to be your god, one god in 3 persons, father, son and holy ghost and professing that you believe the Holy Scriptures to be y^e^ Word of god you promise thro y^e^ assistance of divine grace to make them the rule of your life, and acknowledging yourself by nature a Child of wrath, your hope of mercy with god is only thro y^e^ righteousness of Christ apprehended by faith, you do also give up yourself (and yours) to the Lord, promising to Submitt unto the rule and government of Christ in his Church." This is in the hand of Rev. Daniel Wadsworth. The only variation of this formula (*in Wadsworth's and Dorr's time*, however it may have been before) in the case of the Full Communion membership, is the incorporation into it of the promise "carefully to observe and attend upon y^e^ Ordinances and Institutions of the gospel."

enant. So on Sunday, March 15th, twenty-eight others; March 22d, twelve more; and April 5th, three; in all one hundred and ninety-four, an equal number of each sex. It is, however, a painful commentary on the imperfection, perhaps of the reviving itself, and certainly of the religious system under which it took place, that on the Sunday following the last above mentioned, when those admitted to "full communion" as the fruits of this winter's awakening were received, they were but twelve.

No equivalent religious movement seems to mave marked any subsequent year of Mr. Woodbridge's long pastorate, though evidence of several lesser stirrings of the religious pulse remain; but always with much the same disproportion in result between those who "owned the covenant" and those admitted to "full communion." Three hundred and sixteen persons were admitted to full communion, and four hundred and seventy-eight owned the covenant in the pastorate of Mr. Woodbridge.

Six deacons appear to have been chosen to office during Mr. Woodbridge's pastorate, three in 1691, and three in 1712. The election of the first three was apparently a matter of much deliberation. On March 11, 1686, there was "proposed to y^e^ Church & left to their consideration y^e^ choice of two fit persons for Deacons out of these proposed, *viz*, Paul Peck sen^r^, Joseph Eason Jun^r^, Daniel Prat sen^r^, Nathaniell Goodwine sen^r^, & John Richards." Who "proposed" these candidates is uncertain, whether the Pastor or the brethren. But action was not taken till April 23, 1691, when "Paul Peck sen^r^, Joseph Easton & Joseph Olmstead were chosen Deacons." Parents, however, had their trials then as now. At the same meeting when Paul Peck, Sr., was chosen deacon, Paul Peck, Jr., was "judged incorrigible in his sin of

drunkenness," and was excommunicated. No record of formality about the choice of John Sheldon, John Shepard, and Thomas Richards remains.

From the beginning of the Colony to the opening years of 1700, the settlers on the east side of the Connecticut River at Hartford had attended worship, paid their church rates, and buried their dead on this side. In May 1694 they petitioned the General Court to have the "liberty of a minister" among themselves. The Court commended the subject to the consideration of the First and Second Societies in Hartford, where the east-siders worshiped, expressing the hope of a "good agreement" in the premises.[21] The Societies, on the 5th of October, "considered the motion," declared they "prize the good company" of their east-side friends, and "cannot without their help well and comfortably carry on or mayntaine the ministry in the two societies here;" remind them that the difficulty they complained of in coming over the river was one "they could not but forsee before they settled where they are;" but, all things considered, they would consent, provided

"That those of the good people of the east side that desire to continue with us of the west side shall so doe, and that all the land on the east that belongs to any of the people on the west side shall pay to the ministry of the west side; and that all of the land of the west side shall pay to the ministry of the west side though it belongs to the people of the east side."

This not very cordial permission the Court ratified,[22] and granted liberty to procure an orthodox minister on the east side of the river. The east-side people could not at once procure their minister and set up their establishment, and

[21] *Col. Records*, iv, p. 127.
[22] *Col. Rec.*, iv, pp. 136–137.

more or less friction ensued. The First Society on December 27, 1699, tried to ameliorate matters by voting that "the Inhabitants belonging to the Society on the East Side the Great River shall pay Ten pounds of the Hundred pounds granted to Mr. Woodbridge and no more."[23]

But by 1702, the east-siders having made strenuous efforts to build a meeting-house, and to raise money for the clerical services of Rev. John Read, who temporarily served them in the ministry, the Court peremptorily interposed and ordered that all persons on the east side should pay to the young society there, "any former lawe or usage to the contrary notwithstanding." Certain persons who had been accustomed to come over to the west side did not like this, and petitioned the Court to be allowed to pay to the west side as formerly. Two of them, Solomon Andrews and Thomas Warren, refused to pay their east-side church rates; and the east-side collectors levied on Andrews' brass-kettle, and a horse belonging to Warren. Time, however, settled the controversy, and March 30, 1705, saw the ordination of Mr. Samuel Woodbridge—a nephew of Timothy, of the First Church—over the church and society of East Hartford. The date of the church-organization as a body, ecclesiastically distinct from the First Church, it seems impossible exactly to determine.

Mr. Woodbridge was a large and strong man and lived to good old age, but a considerable part of the year 1701, and the whole of the year 1702, he was absent from Hartford, apparently ill, in Boston. The Society, on January 2, 1702:

"Voated that when Mr. Timothy Woodbridg shall Judg himselfe to be able & Capable of Travailing home from Boston (where he now is) that then there shall be sent Two men to Boston . . . . to wayt vppon Mr. Woodbridge and help him home."

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[23] *First Society Records.*

On the 19th of the following November, Mr. Woodbridge being still absent, the Society appointed

"Mr. Willys, John Haynes, Capt. Stanly, Capt. Nicols, Capt Wadsworth and Lieut Joseph Tallcott a Committy to wright a Suitable Letter and signe it in the Name of the Society to their Revd pastor Mr. Timothy Woodbridg to Condole with him under the sorrowfull sircumstances whith the providence of God hath Layed him vnder By the separation made By his absence from them."

This procedure the Church seconded by a similar vote empowering Mr. Willys, Captain Stanly, Captain Cooke, and Mr. Tallcott, to "wright a Louing and suitable Letter" to Mr. Woodbridge "to desire his speedy Returne to his work in the ministry." January 5, 1703, arriving, and the Pastor still absent, the Society

"Made Choice off Mr. John Haynes & Capt Nicholls or either of them with some other Suitable person to goe with them as soone as possibly they Could to desire the Rev. Mr. Timothy Woodbridg to Returne . . . . and to accompany him home from Boston."

February found him back, for on the 23d of that month the Society

"Did grant to Mr. Timothy Woodbridg as a gratuity and ffree guift the sum of fforty pounds in Countrey pay . . . . and the Horse-Saddle and Bridle Bought att Boston to bring the s[d] Mr. Woodbridg Home."[28]

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[28] "Capt. Nichols and Mr. Ephraim Turner" finally went for Mr. Woodbridge, and were paid by the Society for the service two shillings a day "for 21 days besides the Sabaths." They paid at Boston £5 10*s*. for the "Horse Bridle & Sadle" for Mr. Woodbridge's use.

The only clue to the nature and degree of Mr. Woodbridge's disability is, perhaps, a statement in a letter of Judge Sewall to Rev. James Pierpont of New Haven, dated at Boston, October 29, 1701, and certain entries in Sewall's diary. In the letter he says "Mr. Timothy Woodbridge remains here lame by reason of a humor fallen into his right leg." In his diary he speaks of dining, on October 1, 1702, "with Mr. Increase Mather and Mr. Tim[o] Woodbridge;"

Meantime the pulpit was supplied, more or less regularly, "att Thirty shillings y^e^ Sabath, . . Mr. Nathaniell Hubberd"[24] being paid "ffor preathing elleaven Sabaths, . . Mr. John Reede[25] ffor preathing Two Sabaths, and Mr. Ephrim Woodbridg[26] ffor preathing 14 Sabaths, . . for all which sums those Three gentlemen have partiqueler accoumpts."

There is ample evidence that Mr. Woodbridge occupied a commanding position as a minister in the Colony. He drafted[27] the Address to King William, found in *Col.*

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and says that on "Jany. 27 [1703] Mr. Tim° Woodbridge Prayd at the opening of the Court at Charleston; but dines not with us." Woolsey's *Historical Discourse*, p. 91, and *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxx, pp. 66–72.

[24] Nathaniel Hubbard was, in all probability, the grandson of William Hubbard, the historian. Such a grandson graduated at Harvard in 1698 (a suitable date for the service in question), but he became a lawyer and judge in Massachusetts and died in 1748. Perhaps he, like John Read, essayed preaching awhile. No other Nathaniel Hubbard seems to fit the case.

[25] John Read or Reed was a man of eccentric character and history. He was a native of Connecticut, born about 1680; graduated at Harvard College 1697; preached at Waterbury in 1699, but declined settlement there; was admitted to full communion in the First Church of Hartford November 12, 1697, and awhile after preached for a considerable period at East Hartford. In 1703 he was preaching at Stratford, then studied law, and was admitted to the bar October 6, 1708. He purchased lands of the Indians between Fairfield and Danbury, and became involved in extended litigations. He removed to Boston in 1722, and rose to high distinction in his profession. Was several times chosen Attorney General of the Province of Massachusetts. James Otis called him "the greatest common lawyer this country ever saw." He died in February, 1749, and was buried in King's Chapel, Boston. His wife was Ruth Talcott, daughter of Col. John Talcott of Hartford, and sister of Governor Joseph Talcott. See Knapp's *Biographical Sketches*, and *Sketch of John Read*, by George B. Reed, Boston, 1879.

[26] Ephraim Woodbridge was nephew of Rev. Timothy; born 1680, graduated at Harvard College 1701, became minister at Groton in 1704, died December 1, 1725.

[27] The accomplished editor of the first three volumes of *Conn. Col. Records* gives the draughtmanship of this paper (iii, p. 254) to John Allyn. But the present writer joins with Mr. C. J. Hoadly, State Librarian, in thinking the writing is not Allyn's, and is Woodbridge's. There is collateral evidence of Mr. Woodbridge's concernment in the public events then occurring, which renders his action in this case the more probable.

Records, iii, p. 463–6 and in Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, i, p. 537–40. He was appointed by the General Assembly in May 1703, in association with Rev. Gurdon Saltonstall, "to draw up the addresse to her Majestie and the letter to Lord Cornbury;"[28] he was, in 1704, one of a board of arbitration between the Treasurer of the Colony and Wm. Goodwin and Saml. Steele, "constables of Hartford for the year 1698;"[29] and in 1705 was one of a "Committee in behalfe of the government to consider of the complaints laid against this Colonie in England, and to furnish our agent in England with what directions or informations they can in order to answer said complaints."[30] He preached the Election Sermon before the Assembly on May 12, 1698, and again on May 11, 1724, the latter of which was printed,[31] and is written in a style of more than ordinarily modern tone.

"The *Doctrine*" of the discourse "is That the Lord Jesus Christ doth actually reign on the Earth. He hath from the time of the Fall of Man exerted His Mediatorial power, and the whole world doth dayly Partake of the Benefits and Effects of it."

In the course of his remarks the preacher, who at the time of delivering this sermon was an aged man, says:

"I must recommend to Religious and Compassionating care the encouraging and supporting the *Education of the Indian Children*. There is such a successful beginning made that it is matter of Admiration to those that have enquired into it, and the very *Indians* have expressed themselves to this Effect, '*that* there appears the *Hand of God in it*.'"

This reference is probably to the school at Farmington, where the number of Indian pupils was "sometimes fifteen

[28] *Col. Rec.*, iv, p. 428.
[29] *Ibid*, p. 479.
[30] *Ibid*, p. 520.
[31] *N. London, T. Green*, 1727, sm. 8vo, p. 33.

or sixteen,"[32] and to the support of which the Colony in 1733–4 and 6, made appropriations "for dieting of the Indian lads at 4 shillings per week."

Possibly something of Mr. Woodbridge's interest in this matter of Indian-children education may have been derived from observation in his own household. On the 10th of August 1711 he baptized an Indian boy, apparently apprenticed to him, and made this entry in the Church record:

Baptized "John Waubin my Indian servant. I publickly engaged that I would take care he should be brought up in the Christian Religion. T. Woodbridge."[33]

Educational interests seem always to have had a large share in Mr. Woodbridge's concern, and his loyalty at once to the College and to Hartford led to one of the most pictorial and perhaps one of the most troublesome passages of his history.

The design of a College in the Colony had been early concieved. The distance of Harvard and the difficulty of travel,

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[32] Trumbull, i, p. 469.

[33] In Mr. Woodbridge's will, dated April 1, 1732, he bequeaths "the Improvement of John Waubin during the time he is bound to serve me." As this was within a few months of twenty-one years later, John Waubin must have been a very small Indian at baptism, or the indentures must some way have been renewed.

It may here be noticed that Mr. Woodbridge had a variegated household. Added to the Indian element in it, was another of a still different color, as is witnessed by at least two transactions on the Hartford town records. One bears date July 15, 1723: "We Timothy Woodbridge and Abigail his wife in Consideration of y^e^ sum of fifty-Six pounds of Good and Lawful money . . have bargained, Sold, Sett over and Delivered in plain and open Market . . unto Elizabeth Wilson a Negro Boy named Thorn about thirteen years of age." The other is dated July 16, 1723, and declares that, "I Elizabeth Wilson . . in Consideration of y^e^ Natural Love and Parental affection I have and do bear toward my daughter Abigail Woodbridge . . have Given, Sold, Sett over and delivered to my said daughter Abigail Woodbridge . . a Negro Boy named Tom, to Have and to Hold . . as her own proper Estate, Provided that my said Daughter when she comes to dispose of said Negro, shall give him to one of her sons, as she Shall think best to bestow Such a Gift upon."

not to speak of certain jealousies between Connecticut and Massachusetts—whereof sensible consciousness survives to this day—had led to the frequent pondering of the problem of a College nearer by. In ministerial circles this desire indicated itself, in 1698, in "sundry meetings and consultations," at which it was proposed "that a College should be erected by a general Synod" of the Connecticut churches. As a result of these consultations, "ten of the principal ministers of the Colony were nominated" by the "lesser Conventions of ministers, . . and in private Conversation . . as Trustees or Undertakers . . to found erect and govern a College."[34] These gentlemen were James Noyes of Stonington, Israel Chauncy of Stratford, Thomas Buckingham of Saybrook, Abraham Pierson of Killingworth, Samuel Mather of Windsor, Samuel Andrew of Milford, Timothy Woodbridge of Hartford, James Pierpont of New Haven, Noadiah Russell of Middletown, and Joseph Webb of Fairfield. Tradition has it that these men met at Branford in 1700, and laid a number of books upon a table, saying: "I give these books for the founding of a College in this Colony." Mr. Russell of Branford was appointed Librarian. A charter was procured from the General Assembly on October 9, 1701, and the Trustees, meeting at Saybrook on the 11th of November following, made choice of Rev. Abraham Pierson as Rector, and added Rev. Samuel Russell to the number of the Trustees to complete the maximum of eleven prescribed by the charter. The Trustees at this meeting indicated their desire that Saybrook should be the location of the College, but till the Rector could remove thither the scholars should be instructed at or near the Rector's house at Killingworth. In point of fact the Rector did

[34] Clap's *Hist. Yale College*, pp. 2–3.

not remove, and the College remained at Killingworth till Mr. Pierson's death, March 5, 1707. The first Commencement exercises were, however, held at Saybrook in 1702.

On Mr. Pierson's death, Rev. Samuel Andrews of Milford, was chosen Rector, and the senior class was removed to his town, to be under his immediate care; while the other classes were removed to Saybrook, the place originally selected as the location of the College. Here at Saybrook, under the instruction of "two Tutors," with "Students about twenty in number," the College remained "about seven years."[35]

At the meeting of the Trustees, at Saybrook, on the 4th of April, 1716, the students entered complaints of inadequate instruction, and inconvenience in their accommodations. They alleged they could be just as well taught, and much more conveniently situated, nearer their own homes. The Trustees debated the matter, without arriving at any fixed conclusion; but, as a measure of temporary expedience, allowed the scholars, till the next commencement, to go to such places "as should best suit their inclinations."[36] Fourteen of them inclined to Wethersfield, where they put themselves under the tutorship of Rev. Elisha Williams; thirteen went to New Haven, and four stayed at Saybrook till a scare about the small-pox drove them to East Guilford.

But the disquiet of the students, indicated in the action of the April meeting, had deeper causes than were expressed. The real question was the permanent location of the College. The institution, though graduating fifty-three students between 1702 and 1716, was obviously in a "broken" state, and far from happily situated, with a Rector and senior class

[35] *Ibid*, p. 15.
[36] *Trumbull*, ii, 23.

in one place, and two Tutors and the lower class in another place, forty miles away. In this state of affairs, the site of the College interested and divided the public mind. Some were for continuing it at Saybrook, others for removing it to New Haven, while still a third party in interest were for bringing it to Hartford or Wethersfield.

Returning from the April meeting in 1716, Mr. Woodbridge and Mr. Buckingham, of the Second Church—who had, it is believed, been chosen a Trustee in 1715, to fill the place made vacant by the death of Rev. James Pierpont of New Haven—took the certainly rather extraordinary step of laying a petition before the General Assembly, in May, setting forth the "present declining and unhappy circumstances" of the school; suggesting the removal of it to Hartford; and proposing several arguments why such a removal would be expedient—as that "Hartford is more in the centre of the Colony;" that "six or seven hundred pounds" had been subscribed for the purpose; and that students of "the neighboring Province" of Massachusetts had been promised.[87] The Assembly summoned the Trustees to consider the matter. Some appeared, and persuaded the legislature to postpone consideration of Mr. Woodbridge's and Mr. Buckingham's petition until the Trustees held their regular annual meeting. They met at Saybrook, Sept. 12th, and not being able to agree, adjourned to New Haven, to Oct. 17th.

At this meeting in October, eight Trustees were present; five of them voted to remove the College to New Haven; one favored its continuance at Saybrook, but, if removed, chose New Haven as the site; Mr. Woodbridge and Mr. Buckingham voted for Wethersfield. Two Trustees were

[87] *Col. Rec.*, v, 550–551.

absent; one was bed-ridden, the other was known to be in favor of New Haven.

The majority was clearly for the change. Two Tutors were elected, and measures undertaken to erect a building at New Haven. The senior class was put under the instruction of Rev. Mr. Noyes, minister of the church there. But the students participated in the divided public sentiment, and nearly half of them remained at Wethersfield, and a few at Saybrook. The agitation continued. A public meeting at Hartford was held December 18th, 1716, and resolutions adopted calling on the representatives in the Assembly to appeal from the action of the Trustees, to the legislature. In April following, the Trustees, by a vote of six, re-enacted their choice of New Haven, made the October before. Mr. Woodbridge and Mr. Buckingham, backed by the local sentiment about them, presented a remonstrance to the Assembly, in May, declaring the transferrence of the College to New Haven to be irregular and illegal, and in violation of certain agreements made among the Trustees. Sundry inhabitants of Hartford seconded the memorials of the two dissatisfied remonstrants. The Assembly disagreed on the subject of the memorial. The lower House voted to call the Trustees before them to give account of the transfer; the upper House negatived the proposal.[38] Things drifted on till October, when the subject came up again in the Assembly, "the lower House in something of a passion,"[39] calling the Trustees before them, and enquiring on what authority they had "ordered a collegiate school built at New Haven." The same branch of the Assembly also proceeded to vote on the question of a locality for the College, as if it had not

[38] Dr. Woolsey's *Historical Discourse*, p. 18.
[39] *Ibid*, p. 19.

already been legally determined, and as if it were a matter under their control; Saybrook having six votes, Middletown thirty-five, and New Haven thirty-two. The upper House, influenced, it is believed, largely by Governor Saltonstall, declared that the matter had already been legally settled, and that the objections of the remonstrating Trustees were frivolous. Ultimately it appears, from a contemporary manuscript, that the upper House, after listening to argument on the subject from Mr. Davenport of Stamford, agreed, unanimously, to recommend the Trustees to go on at New Haven; and the lower House, dividing on the question, voted in the same way by a majority of six; so "the up river party had their will in having the school settled by the Generall Court, though sorely against their will at New Haven."[40]

Partly to compensate the "up river party" for their disappointment about the College, the Assembly voted an appropriation of £800, to be raised by sale of public lands, for an Assembly and Court House at Hartford.

The up-river party were hard to console, however. In the May following, the lower House of the Assembly voted on the matter once again, proposing that the College commencements be held alternately at New Haven and at Wethersfield till the place of the school should be fully determined. The upper House voted that it was determined already.

This was the last of the struggle, so far as the legislature was concerned. But the two Hartford Trustees were still militant. Commencement day came. President Clap says,[41] on "Sept. 12, 1718, there was a Splendid Commencement at New Haven." He rehearses in glowing terms the grandeur of the occasion, the dignity of the personages present, the

[40] *Ibid*, p. 20. See also *Col. Rec.*, vi, 30, and *note*.
[41] *History Yale College*, pp. 24–25.

nobleness of the addresses in celebration of the endowment given by Elihu Yale, and concludes the narrative of the event by the statement that "the Honorable Governor *Saltonstall* was pleased to Grace and Crown the whole Solemnity with an elegant Latin Oration."

President Clap then goes on to say, that on the same day when these august proceedings were in progress at New Haven,

"Something like a Commencement was carried on at *Wethersfield* before a large Number of Spectators; five Scholars who were Originally of the Class which now took their Degrees at *New Haven* performed publick Exercises; the Rev. Mr. Woodbridge acted as *Moderator*, and he and Mr. Buckingham and other Ministers present signed Certificates, that they judged them to be worthy of the Degree of Batchelor of Arts; these Mr. Woodbridge delivered to them in a formal Manner in the Meeting-House, which was commonly taken and represented as giving them their Degrees."[42]

Obviously the up river party was a good deal excited. The general feeling of the community seems to have supported the two dissentient Trustees in their course. The following year, 1719, Mr. Woodbridge and Mr. Buckingham were chosen town-representatives to the Assembly. Mr. Woodbridge prayed at the opening of the session on the 14th of May; but on the 18th an "information" was made by a down-river member that he had "charged the Honorable the Governor and Council in that matter of Saybrook with the breach of the 6th and 8th commandments."

The next day the House voted that the charge was sufficiently sustained to exclude him from his seat as a member. But on Mr. Woodbridge's presentation of the case, in a paper signed by him, the lower House acquitted him of the

[42] *Ibid*, pp. 27-28.

charge of defaming his Majesty's government. The upper House apparently hesitated, and sent down a message appointing a further hearing of Mr. Woodbridge's defence. Here the track is lost, and the after progress of the affair is unknown.[43]

What phase of that "matter at Saybrook" it was, which prompted Mr. Woodbridge's irreverent speech—whether the whole matter of removal, or the particular transaction of the December previous, when the forcible carrying off the books of the College from Saybrook was the occasion of a public riot—it is perhaps impossible to say. There is no doubt that Mr. Woodbridge shared to some extent the excited feelings of the Saybrook people, who so far resisted the removal of the library, that the doors of the building where the volumes were kept had to be broken in; the wagons conveying them were assailed; bridges along the road were torn down, "and two hundred and fifty of the most valuable books and sundry Papers of Importance were lost." [44]

Gradually, however, the excitement abated. The Trustees of the College chose Mr. Williams of Wethersfield a Tutor, and opened the way for the regular enrollment in the class list of the "five scholars" who had figured in the "something like a Commencement at Wethersfield." Dr. Trumbull suggests that the two rebellious members of the Board were too "important characters" to have their behavior in the affair treated as severely as it might otherwise have been.[45] And ultimately, President Clap records,

"The Rev. Mr. *Woodbridge* and Mr. *Buckingham* became very friendly to the College at *New Haven*. The Trustees

[43] *Col. Rec.*, vi, p. 106.
[44] Woolsey's *Historical Address*, p. 22, and Clap's *History*, pp. 28–29.
[45] *Trumbull*, ii, p. 30.

in Testimony of their Friendship and Regard to Mr. *Woodbridge* chose him *Rector pro Tempore*, and he accordingly moderated and gave Degrees at the Commencement Anno 1723." [46]

Coincident in point of time with much of Mr. Woodbridge's effort in behalf of the College was his activity in another very important Connecticut interest—the establishment and maintenance of the Consociational system.

The depressed and disorderly state of religious affairs which prevailed throughout the Colony about the time of Mr. Woodbridge's accession to the pastorate, and which had already been made the subject of various remedial experiments of a legislative and ecclesiastical character, still continued. It was matter of common recognition, and among the best men, of sorrow and alarm. Inevitably it became the topic of conference and suggestion whenever ministers assembled. But in those days of difficult intercommunication between the scattered churches of the province, the Trustees of the College were about the only body of men clearly representative of the Colony at large who had occasion or opportunity to meet. It was only natural, therefore, that the most influential proposal to attempt the redress of existing evils should originate with them; as also that when the endeavor was undertaken, they again should in large measure be its instruments. At a meeting of the College Trustees at Guilford, March 17, 1703, there was prepared "a Circular Letter to the Ministers, proposing to have a general

[46] *Clap*, p. 29. This was the Commencement after the Rev. Timothy Cutler was, by vote of the Trustees, "excused from all further services as Rector of Yale College," by reason of his having avowed Episcopalian sentiments. On which occasion, also, the Trustees voted that all future Rectors or Tutors in the College should subscribe the Saybrook Confession, and "particularly give satisfaction to them of the soundness of their faith in opposition to Arminian and Prelatical corruptions."

Synod of all the Churches in the Colony of Connecticut to give their joint Consent to the *Confession of Faith* after the Example of the Synod in Boston in 1680." [47] How in detail the recommendation was met by the ministers cannot, perhaps, be determined; though President Clap, who is the authority for the proposal, says it was "universally acceptable." But in May of 1708, the General Assembly, being in session at Hartford, after rehearsing how they were "sensible of the defects of the discipline of the churches of this government arising from the want of a more explicite asserting of the rules given for that end in the holy scriptures, from which would arise a firm establishment amongst ourselves, a good and regular issue in cases subject to ecclesiastical discipline, glory to Christ our head and edification to its members," proceeded to "ordein and require" the ministers and "such messengers as the churches to which they belong shall see cause to send with them," to meet in their respective county towns on the last Monday in the following June, and there to "consider and agree upon those methods and rules for the management of ecclesiastical discipline which by them shall be judged agreeable and conformable to the word of God," and to appoint delegates, representative of their county assemblies, to meet at Saybrook at the "next Commencement," to "compare results" and draw up a general "form of ecclesiastical discipline," to be reported to the Assembly for consideration in October.[48]

The procedures of the county meetings do not survive to us, but President Clap states, that "the churches in the several Counties met . . and assented to the *Westminster* or *Savoy* Confessions, and drew up some Rules of Ecclesias-

[47] Clap's *Hist. Yale Col.*, p. 12.
[48] *Col. Rec.*, v, p. 51.

tical Discipline. ... Then each Council chose six Delegates, that is three Ministers and three Messengers, to meet in a general Synod." If this statement of President Clap is correct, and he certainly wrote at a period when knowledge on the matter was easily accessible, there hardly seems to be adequate foundation for the suggestion of a very eminent later historian, that the Synod which convened at Saybrook was not a properly representative body of the forty churches of Connecticut.[49]

The constituent bodies were four in number. The clerical delegation was full, with the exception that Fairfield County, which never was suspected of lack of interest in the Saybrook system, wanted one clerical member; while New London County, where opposition to the Saybrook system was earliest and sharpest, sent more laymen than any other. That nine of these twelve clerical delegates were Trustees of the College, was plainly a matter of convenience, growing out of the legislative call of the Synod at the time and place of the College commencement; not to speak of the manifest fact that the College Trustees were, as a body, the foremost ministers of the Colony. That only four of twelve possible lay delegates responded to their election by the constituent bodies and presented themselves at the Synod, is a fact explicable on quite other grounds than any antecedent opposition to the movement; evidence of which at this stage of procedure seems wanting.

Hartford County sent among her delegates Timothy Woodbridge, the Pastor, and John Haynes, a member of the First Church. Mr. Haynes was a son of Joseph Haynes, the for-

[49] Dr. Bacon's *Norwich Address*, *Cont. Conn. Eccl. Hist.*, pp. 38–39.

mer Pastor of the Church, and grandson of John Haynes, the Governor of the Colony.[50]

The Synod thus convened at Saybrook, adopted the Confession of Faith agreed to by the Synod at Boston in 1680, which was a slightly modified form of the Savoy Declaration of 1658. It then adopted the "Heads of the Agreement assented to by the United Ministers formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational," a kind of compromise platform on which some of the English churches of those respective titles — both equally put under disablement by the restored Episcopal system — had, in 1691, consented to stand in fellowship. Framed in this compromise spirit and for this fellowship purpose, the "Heads of Agreement," as might be supposed, ignored everything sharply distinctive either in Congregational or Presbyterian views.

The Synod then formulated fifteen Articles — its characteristic and historically significant work — which constitute the platform known as the Saybrook Consociational system.[51]

President Clap in speaking of these Articles, says:

"The substance of which (so far as they seemed to contain anything new) was this that whereas in former Times the Boundaries of the several Councils of Churches Consociated for mutual Assistance were *unfixed*, and left in the General Terms of the *Neighboring Churches*, Now the several Neighborhoods of Churches were more precisely bounded, and limited to the respective *Counties* or *Districts*." [52]

Doubtless Dr. Clap's representation would be excepted to by some who discern in the Saybrook Articles an elaborate device

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[50] This John Haynes was born 1669, graduated at Harvard in 1689, was Assistant and Judge in the Colony, and died November 27, 1713.

[51] For the enlightenment of the later generation, to whom the Saybrook Articles have become a kind of bugaboo, the Articles are given in Appendix VIII.

[52] Clap, *Hist. Yale Coll.*, p. 30.

for restricting the liberties of the churches. It has been well said of them:

"Taken by themselves these fifteen articles were stringent enough to satisfy the most ardent High-Churchman among the Congregationalists of that day; taken, however, in connection with the London document previously adopted, and by the spirit of which — apparently — they were always to be construed, their stringency became matter of differing judgment, so that what on the whole was their intent has never been settled to this day." [53]

For the purposes of the present narrative any attempt at settlement of that problem is unnecessary. The system, bad or good, continued the legally established one in the State till 1784; and continued the voluntarily accepted method of the majority of the churches much longer. In this Church whose Pastor and delegate had some hand in its devising, it continued operative one hundred and sixty-two years; and its operation was such as enabled another eminent Pastor to say at the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its adoption at Saybrook, "the First Church of Hartford is a *Consociated Church*, and such I trust it will ever remain." [54]

The Synod reported their conclusions to the Assembly at its session in October following the meeting at Saybrook, and the Assembly declared its "approbation of such a happy agreement," and ordained,

"That all the churches within this government that are or shall be thus united in doctrine worship and discipline, be, and for the future shall be owned and acknowledged established by law. Provided always that nothing herein shall be intended and construed to hinder or prevent any society or church that is or shall be allowed by the laws of this government, who soberly differ or dissent from the united

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[53] Dexter's *Congregationalism in Literature*, p. 490.

[54] *Cont. Conn. Eccl. Hist.*, p. 87. Dr. Hawes' Address.

churches hereby established, from exercising worship and discipline in their own way, according to their consciences." [55]

Pursuant to the plan proposed by the Synod and ratified by the Assembly, the churches of Hartford County met at Hartford by their Pastors and Delegates on February 1, 1709, making choice of Mr. Woodbridge as Moderator, and divided into two Consociations of churches and two Associations of ministers; the churches of Hartford, Windsor, Farmington, and Simsbury, constituting the constituency of one Consociation, and those of Wethersfield, Middletown, Waterbury, Glastonbury, Haddam, Windham, and Colchester, of the other. The Associational division of the ministers was, of course, correspondent with the Consociational division of the churches. The records of the North Association of Hartford County, to which Hartford belonged, are in nearly complete condition extant, and they show that till his death, in 1732, Mr. Woodbridge was almost always present, and that whenever he was present was, with two exceptions, chosen Moderator. Mr. Woodbridge was Moderator also of the General Association of the Colony, which met at Fairfield in September, 1712, and at which were formulated the rules of procedure and standards of qualification in admitting candidates to the ministry; the irregularity and uncertainty of both which, had been one of the main difficulties the Saybrook Synod had been devised to redress.[56]

The establishment of a more settled order in ecclesiastical affairs was attended, naturally, with renewed religious endeavor on the part of ministers and churches. The North Association of Hartford, in 1711, called on "all such as had not yet owned the baptismal covenant" to "attend to their duty in that case;" exhorted such as had owned it to renew

[55] *Col. Rec.*, v, p. 87.
[56] *Trumbull*, i, p. 480.

their engagements ; summoned all congregations within their boundary to better observance of the Sabbath, submission to constituted authority, avoidance of "profanity and immorality ;" advised against "intemperance in the use of lawful things, particularly against excess in drinking ;" and, that they might succeed in such righteous endeavor, were commended diligently to seek divine assistance.[57]

These endeavors were seconded, in 1714, by the action of the Assembly,[58] taken in view of "the many evident tokens that the glory is departed from us," providing for a "strict enquiry" into the "state of religion ; . . whether catechizing be duly attended ;" whether there be a "suitable number of bibles ;" whether "any neglect attendance on publick worship," and "what means have been used with such persons" to induce them to attend ; and calling on "the Reverend Elders of the Association" to report their findings. The Elders reported, at the October session in 1715,[59] a destitution of Bibles, a neglect of public worship, a failure in catechizing, a deficiency in family government, and prevalent intemperance. Upon which report the Assembly passed various enactments, the better to enforce the law against "Lying," against "Prophane Swearing," against "Unseasonble Meetings of Young People in the Evening after the Sabbath Days and other times ;" and calling upon the Selectmen of towns to see that families be supplied with Bibles, "orthodox Catechisms, and other good books of practical godliness, viz., such especially as treat on, encourage and duly prepare for, the right attendance on that great duty of the Lord's Supper."[60]

[57] *Ibid*, ii, pp. 18–19.
[58] *Col. Rec.*, v, p. 436.
[59] *Ibid*, p. 530.
[60] *Ibid*, pp. 530-531.

These various endeavors were well intended, and were doubtless productive of some good. But one expression in the Assembly's enactment is exceedingly suggestive—the call for books encouraging and preparing for attendance on the Lord's Supper.

The Half-way Covenant system was working out its legitimate results. People came to that halting-place and there remained. When a new ministerial or legislative endeavor was made to arouse religious feeling, it was satisfied by "owning the covenant." After a great earthquake, like that in Mr. Woodbridge's later pastorate, on the "night after the Lord's day Oct 29th 1727, when the Almighty arose, and so terribly shook the earth," the fact recorded itself in multitudes owning the covenant. But that duty done, comparatively few went further. The Church was in danger of becoming emptied of all but those admitted to this outer court. Moved by the desertion of the Lord's Table, at which those who only "served the tabernacle" of the covenant were regarded as "having no right to partake," Rev. Solomon Stoddard, a godly and honored divine at Northampton, had written—fifteen years before this action of the Connecticut Assembly[61]—arguing the converting tendency of

[61] Mr. Stoddard's volume was published in 1700, and followed by controversial discussions. His name is unpleasantly associated with a view of the place the Supper holds in relation to the religious life, which has generally been deemed erroneous; but of Mr. Stoddard's great success as a true evangelical minister, ample evidence remains. No minister of New England in his day was, perhaps, so favored with revivals in his congregation as was Mr. Stoddard between the years 1679 and 1712.

One point of connection between Mr. Stoddard and the First Church of Hartford may here be mentioned, if only as illustrating the process of discipline and of voting in the Church at this period. Some matter of offence charged by the Church against "Maj. Joseph Talcot" was at a meeting held July 9, 1719, "referred to the Reverend Mr. Solomon Stoddard, Mr. John Williams and Mr. William Williams for their advice." What the offence was, and what the finding of the Referees was, does not appear. But on January

the Lord's Supper as a means of grace to those confessedly not yet experimental Christians; and the Assembly seems to have thought that more of such "encouraging" books would be useful. The attempt, well designed but erroneous, to bring Christian standards down to the acceptance of men, instead of bringing men up to the standards, is instructive. It has its modern as well as its ancient illustrations, though in altered form. But it was a mistake then, as it is ever.

No marked change in religious matters appeared in Mr. Woodbridge's day. He himself seems to have been a laborious and faithful man. Age crept upon him still honored and apparently beloved. His handwriting in the first extant Church record-book grew tremulous and indistinct. Occasional entries appear of baptisms by other hands—by "My Son" [Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, Jr.], or "by Rev. Mr. Whitman." February, 1732, seems to be the date of the last entry in his own writing. On the 29th of December previous, the Society had passed the following vote:

"Whereas the advanced age of our Revernd Pastour and bodily Infirmities attending him in his Publick Ministry must in the Winter Season be overburdensome to him, Wee agree to Endeavour to provide Some Suitable person to assist him in his publick Ministry for the remaining part of the Winter."

But the necessity was not long. He died April 30, 1732, aged seventy-six years and three months; having served the Church in a ministerial capacity forty-eight years and eight

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31, 1720, "the following vote was offered to y^{e} Church & consented to by them—If you do freely over looke & Passe by all things that have passed between Maj.^{r} Talcot & yourselves as matter of offence & do upon his desire withdraw your charge you have Laid against him to prosecute it no farther & do receive him to your charity & communion, manifest your consent hereunto by your Silence. Which was done by the Church." *Mr. Woodbridge's Record.*

months; of which period he was for forty-six years and three months its Pastor.

Mr. Woodbridge married three times. His first wife, as has been said already, was Mehitable, widow of his predecessor, Isaac Foster. Of his second wife, a Mrs. Howell, little is known. His third wife, Abigail, widow of Richard Lord, and daughter of John Warren of Boston, was a woman of character and wealth, of whom there will be occasion to speak hereafter.

Mr. Woodbridge had seven children,[47] two of whom became useful and honored ministers in Connecticut,—Timothy, at Simsbury, in 1712; and Ashbel, at Glastonbury, in October, 1728; and both of them in turn had clerical offspring, whose names are had in honorable remembrance.[48]

Mr. Woodbridge was buried beside his predecessors in the ground back of the present church-edifice—the slab marking Isaac Foster's burial place as well as his own; and his virtues were celebrated in an extended passage of the Election Sermon, preached eleven days after his death, by his friend, Rev. Timothy Edwards of East Windsor, the father of Rev.

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[47] Mr. Woodbridge's children were:

1. Timothy, bapt. Oct. 3, 1686; grad. Y. C. 1706; minister at Simsbury 1712; died 1742.
2. Mary, bapt. June 19, 1692; married May 7, 1724, Hon. Wm. Pitkin of East Hartford; died Feb. 17, 1766.
3. Ruth, bapt. Aug. 18, 1695; married Rev. John Pierson of Woodbridge, N. J.; died 1734.
4. John, bapt. Jan. 31, 1697; buried Feb. 6, 1697.
5. Susanna (probably child of second wife), bapt. Feb. 6, 1703; married Aug. 7, 1728, Richard Treat.
6. Ashbel, bapt. June 10, 1704; grad. Y. C. 1724; minister Glastonbury, 1728; married Nov. 17, 1737, Jerusha, daughter of Wm. Pitkin of East Hartford, and widow of Samuel Edwards of Hartford; died Aug. 6, 1758.
7. Theodore (son of third wife), bapt. June 23, 1717; died young.

[48] Timothy, son of Timothy second, minister at Hatfield, Mass.; and Samuel, son of Ashbel, minister at Eastbury and West Hartland, Conn. William, also son of Ashbel, was the first preceptor of Phillips Academy, Exeter.

MONUMENTS OF THE EARLY PASTORS IN THE OLD BURYING GROUND.

Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, and himself a child of this Church.[49]

A part only of the long and somewhat complicated paragraph need here be repeated. Mr. Edwards had just spoken feelingly of the death of Rev. Thomas Buckingham of the Second Church, who had passed away only a "few months" before, and now proceeding to speak of Mr. Woodbridge, delivers himself, in part, thus:

"And also Considering the final departure of that aged and eminent Servant of Christ who died in this Town last week, who was one of the principal men of his Order in the Land; Him, we that were his Contemporaries in the Sacred work of the Evangelical Ministry in the Towns about him generally Considered as much our Senior and Superior; and in Cases of Weight and Difficulty advised with, yea and hearkened unto him as to our Head and Guide, yea very much as to a Father. . . . . I may truly say of him that Considering the goodness of his natural Temper, the gravity greatness & Superiority that appeared in his Countenance, his bodily Presence being so far from Mean and Contemptible, that it was great much above what is ordinary; his proper Stature (he being Taller than the common Size) with his Comley Majestic Aspect, being such as commanded Reverence; and Considering how Wise and Judicious he was, with his great Prudence, his entertaining Freedom, obliging Courtesy & Affability, his superior Learning, Reading and Knowledge; his Liberal, Bountiful, Generous and Publick Spirit (in which he did much excel) his great Ability for and readiness in giving Counsel, ... and how much the care of

[49] Timothy Edwards was son of Richard Edwards of Hartford; he was born May 14, 1669; graduated at Harvard College, 1691, receiving the degrees A.B. and A.M. the same day as a mark of his "extraordinary proficiency;" and was ordained pastor at East Windsor in May, 1694. He married Esther, daughter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton, Nov. 6, 1694, who bore him ten daughters and one son, Jonathan, born Oct. 5, 1703; and he died in the pastorate at East Windsor, Jan. 27, 1758, in his eighty-ninth year. The Election Sermon above spoken of was preached at Hartford, May 11, 1732.

the Churches and the College lay upon him, and what a Blessing he was to them both; . . . . and what Influence, Sway and Authority he had with Ministers and People, yea with men of all Ranks, Degrees and Orders, and how much he hath been a Healer of Breaches Strifes & Divisions among us, ... and Considering his Orthodoxy & Soundness in the Christian Faith, ... and Considering also for how many years and how well he filled the Pulpit, and (in our Councils and Associations) the Moderator's Chair, ... and how brightly the Graces and Vertues of a Christian and a Minister of Christ shined forth in his Life, ... and how much good he did in his Day, and how extensively useful & servicable, and what a Blessing he was in his Generation, and how becoming a Christian and a Minister he carried himself in living & dying, I say Considering these things (beside others of the same kind which might be added to them) which I have briefly mentioned concerning this eminent Person, it may doubtless be truly said of him that he was one of the Choicest & greatest men, that has ever appeared among us in these parts of the Countrey."

With which eulogium, which was probably all deserved, this chapter on Mr. Woodbridge and his pastorate may well enough end.[50]

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[50] Mr. Woodbridge's will is dated April 1, 1732. He had previously parted with most of his real estate to his sons by deed of gift. The inventory of his effects contains, among many other specified items, "1 broad cloath coat, black Russet vest & briches, £15;" Library of books, £34; "In the servants John Wobbin an Indian £24;" Lydia, a "Negro Girll," £60; the old oxen £20; young oxen £16; one yoke large steers £14. 10*s*; brown cow and calf £8; one cow £6. 10; one *do.* £8. 10; one with calf £8. 10; one £6. 10; one heifer with calf £6. 10; one yearling steer £5; one *do.* £2. 10; stallion £12; one "Mare and colt in the woods" £2; one 5 year £4; one 3 year £3; one 2 year £2. 10; 3 colts; sow and seven shoats. "136½ oz. of Plate at 16^{d} pr. oz. £109. 14." From all which, as from similar inventories of Mr. Woodbridge's predecessors, it appears that a Hartford clergyman's belongings in the first hundred years of the town's history were in quality, to say nothing of magnitude, very different from his possessions now.

CHAPTER XI.

DANIEL WADSWORTH AND HIS TIMES.

The "Some Suitable person" who was engaged to assist Mr. Woodbridge "for the remaining part of the Winter and Longer if occasion call for it," was probably Daniel Wadsworth. For, on the 2d day of May, 1732—two days after Mr. Woodbridge's death, and the evening of his funeral—a meeting of the Society was held and a tax levied "to Sattisfy and pay Mr. Daniel Wadsworth for his Labours in the work of the ministry of the Gospel." This action, which contemplates payment for past services, was followed at the same meeting by the appointment of a committee, consisting of "His Hon^{r} the Gov^{r}, Capt. Wyllys, Capt. Shelding, Capt. Nickols, and Dea. Richards (with the advice of the Reverend Elders of the Association) to Treat with Mr. Daniel Wadsworth respecting his settling in the work of the Ministry of the Gospell amongst us."

Apparently the report of the committee and the advice of the elders were favorable; for on the 28th of June following, the question being put to vote in the Society meeting, "whether it is the mind of the Society to Call the Rev^{d} Mr. Daniel Wadsworth unto the office of the Gospell Ministry," it was "Resolved in the affirmative."

The Society then voted "five hundred pounds in Good Bills of public Credit" for Mr. Wadsworth's "Settlement;" and a salary of one hundred and thirty pounds. By the 9th

of August, however, it seemed expedient, because of the uncertainty of the value of the currency, to hold another meeting and to vote "that provided the s^d M^r Dan^ll Wadsworth Settle in y^e ministry among us this Society will annually . . . . grant and pay unto him so much in bills of publick Credit or in Case their Currency fail, in the other then Current medium of Trade in y^e Country as shall be equivalent unto one hundred and thirty pounds in y^e present bills of Credit according to their present value."[1]

The young minister had boarded at Mrs. Abigail Woodbridge's, after and probably before her husband's death; and the Society committee were ordered to pay her "for keeping Mr. Wadsworth while he was in Hartford."

Things being thus arranged, the ordination of Mr. Wadsworth took place September 28, 1732. The procedure on the occasion he himself inscribed on the Church record, as follows:

"The Revd. Mr. Whitman[2] began with pray^r and preached a Sermon from Mat. 24, 45., the Rev^d Mr. Edwards[3] made a pray^r and gave y^e Charge, the Rev^d Mr. Marsh[4] made y^e next

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[1] There had been a gradual depreciation of the Bills of Credit some time in progress. Mr. Woodbridge's salary was to be £100. But in the latter part of his ministry the medium of exchange was so far sunk in value that his salary in 1724 was made £115; in 1725 till 1728, £130; and from 1729 to 1731, £150. The depreciation progressed during Mr. Wadsworth's ministry, so that the sums voted as representing the £130, on which he was settled, came to be, in 1735, £140; in 1736 and 1737, £150; from 1738 to 1740, £200; from 1741 to 1743, £250; in 1744 and 1745, £300; in 1746, £340; and in 1747, the last year of his active ministry, £400.

[2] Rev. Samuel Whitman of Farmington, pastor of the church of which Mr. Wadsworth was a member. He was graduated at Harvard in 1696; ordained at Farmington December 10, 1706; died 1751. His son Elnathan was ordained pastor of the Second Church in Hartford on the 29th of the November following this ordination of Mr. Wadsworth.

[3] Timothy Edwards of South Windsor. See *ante*, p. 273.

[4] Jonathan Marsh of Windsor; graduated at Harvard 1705; ordained at Windsor 1709; published election sermons 1721, 1737; and died September 8, 1747, aged 63.

prayer, the Revd. Mr. Colton[5] gave the Right hand of fellowship."

The Rev. Daniel Wadsworth who thus, in his 28th year of age, was ordained Pastor of the First Church of Hartford, was born at Farmington November 14, 1704. He was the great-grandson of William Wadsworth, who came to this country in the *Lion*, on the 16th of September, 1632; removed to Hartford in the general migration of 1636, and was a man prominent in all public affairs till his death in 1675.[6] William's son John—a brother of the Joseph Wadsworth who rescued and hid the Charter—settled in Farmington, and there John's son, John, and his grandson Daniel, were born.

Daniel was educated at Yale College, graduating in 1726, in the same class with Elnathan Whitman—son of his Farmington pastor—who was to be his associate in the Hartford ministry as pastor of the Second Church.[7] Very probably it was to the Farmington pastor that the two young Hartford ministers may have been indebted for their theological training; the usage of those days, before the establishment of our technical theological schools, taking young men into the families of some established minister of repute, for their ministerial education. The new Pastor followed the establishment of his ecclesiastical relations by the formation of social ones, marrying, in February 1734, Abigail Talcott, daughter of Governor Joseph Talcott.[8]

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[5] Benjamin Colton of the Fourth or West Hartford Church; graduated at Yale College 1710; ordained February 24, 1713; died March 1, 1759.

[6] In July, 1644, he married Eliz. Stone (probably a sister of Rev. Samuel Stone), but she was a second wife, and not the mother of his children, some of whom were born in England.

[7] Elnathan Whitman survived both Mr. Wadsworth and Mr. Wadsworth's successor, Edward Dorr, and died in March, 1777.

[8] The frequent references in this and in the following pastorate to the Talcotts, and the relation of that family to the two Pastors and to the Church, perhaps calls for a statement of the family of the Governor:

The occasion of a new ministry seems to have been laid hold of by the Society for the revival of the question of a new meeting-house. This question had already been a good deal debated. Obviously, the old house, on what is now Court House Square, had become incommodious. It was, as the records show, constantly undergoing repairs, and either because of its situation or its degeneration by age, was to be succeeded by another.

The first form the meeting-house movement took was a proposal, in January 1727, four years before Mr. Woodbridge's death, to build one house for the two Societies; and a committee was appointed to confer with "our friends of the New Church . . . . to see if they are of our mind and whether they will engage with us to build a House and unite into one Society."[9]

Governor Joseph Talcott, grandson of first settler John, and son of Lieutenant-Colonel John, was born November 16, 1669, and married Abigail Clark in 1693. By her he had three children:

1. John, b. February 27, 1699; m. Abagail Theobalds, December 30, 1725; d. 1777.
2. *Deacon* Joseph, b. February 17, 1701; m. Esther Pratt, April 27, 1727; d. July 3, 1799.
3. Nathaniel, b. November 26, 1702; m. Hannah Ferris.

By his second wife Eunice, daughter of Matthew Howell and widow of Samuel Wakeman, he had six children:

4. Abigail, b. April 13, 1707; m. Rev. Daniel Wadsworth, February 25, 1734; d. June 24, 1773.
5. Eunice, b. January 26, 1709; m. Nathaniel Hooker, grad. Y. C. 1729; d. 1795.
6. Matthew, b. 1713; m. Mary Russell; d. August 29, 1802.
7. Samuel, grad. Y. C. 1733; m. Mabel Wyllys, May 3, 1739; d. March 6, 1797.
8. Jerusha, b. May 3, 1717; m. Dr. Daniel Lothrop of Norwich, December 4, 1744; d. September, 1805.
9. Helena, b. March 13, 1720; m. 1st, Rev. Edward Dorr; m. 2d, Rev. Robert Breck, November 2, 1773; d. July 9, 1797.

[9] The committee on the question of uniting the old and new Societies in one house building enterprise were "His Honor, the Governor [Talcott], Capt. Hez. Wyllys, Capt. John Shelding and Dea. Thomas Richards." The "new" society was now fifty-seven years old.

This overture receiving "no answer in writing," the Society, on the 16th of the same month, appointed Captain Samuel Mather of Windsor, Mr. Edward Bulkley of Wethersfield, and Deacon John Hart of Farmington, a committee "to fix and determine the most accommodable place for setting up a Meeting House, next the great Street in Hartford, from the north west Corner of Capt Benj. Smiths Lott, to the south west Corner of Mrs. Eliza. Wilsons Lott," *i. e.*, from about Central Row to Arch Street. Governor Talcott, Hezekiah Wyllis, and Captains Sheldon and Nichols were to confer with the above committee, and "to lay the matters of difficulty" before them. A "rate" of £100 was ordered for building purposes, to be paid "within four months."

The matters of difficulty were the disagreements about the location. Attendants of the Society on the south side of the Little River thought the Meeting House Yard, now Court House Square, too far north. Attendants north of Meeting House Yard were not willing to go far south of it. Nothing magnifies distance like the removal of a meeting-house. Various places were proposed: the Burying-Ground lot, Captain Williamson's lot, and some location on Mrs. Wilson's long lot between what is now Arch Street and the lane north of the Athenæum building.

The out-of-town committee reported, March 6th, 1728, in favor of a location "on Mrs. Wilson's lot, on the south side of the barn on said lot, next the street, to be 15 feet south of the cow-house," a location in the near vicinity of the spot where St. John's church now stands. They were probably influenced, in part, in their decision, by the understood willingness of Mrs. Wilson to give the land for the purpose.[10]

[10] Mr. Ebenezer Williamson took Deacon John Hart's place on the committee. They were paid for their services, £1 15*s.* 3*d.*

But the possibilities of meeting-house quarrels are infinite. Some did not like the proposed situation because it was too far south; some because it was on the east side of the street, and unduly favored those who lived on that side. In January 1727, the people on the south side of the Riveret professed their willingness, if the Meeting House Yard situation were abandoned, to go anywhere on the Great [Main] Street, south of Smith's corner [Central Row]. But now, in 1728, when Governor Talcott and fifty-five others signed an agreement to build, if the house could be located on the burying-ground, the south-siders would not consent to it.

So the matter waited. December 16th, 1730, it came up again. On that date, the Society appointed "His Hon^{r} the Governour [Talcott] and Capt John Sheldon" a committee to ask leave of the "Town to sett a Meeting house Either in part or in Whole on the burying lott"—substantially the place where the church-edifice now stands.

The Town next day, December 17th, left the matter to a committee to hear and determine. Apparently the determination was favorable, for it is referred to as such in subsequent discussions, and no after consent ever seems to have been sought or given for the building of the edifice on the burying-ground.

But the scheme delayed. Mrs. Wilson died and her daughter Mrs. Abigail Woodbridge, wife of the Pastor, succeeded to her estate. Mr. Woodbridge died. At a meeting held on the evening after his funeral, May 2d, 1732, it was voted—apparently under stress of some "threatening of the party of the south side" that they would leave the Society unless the location fixed on by the out of town committee were adopted—"by more than two-thirds of the persons Qualified to vote of s^{d} Society," that a new meeting-

house was a "necessity," and that "wee agree to build said House on the Lott belonging to Mrs. Woodbridge . . if the Hon^l. Gen^l. Assembly will give us their Sanction so to do." The same meeting appointed "a committee to Treat with Mrs. Abigail Woodbridge for her allowance and Conveyance of the Land." The Assembly, thus invoked, ordered and appointed said Society

"To build their meeting-house on the lot of land belonging to Mrs. Abigail Woodbridge . . on the south of the great gate towards the southwest corner of said lot, and so nigh to the southwest corner as the committee of said society and Mrs. Woodbridge shall agree to."[11]

Mrs. Woodbridge on her part responded to the overtures of the committee by deeding to the Society on the 25th of June, 1733, "one certain piece or parcel of land . . containing in quantity 7,842 square feet." The deed recites that Mrs. Woodbridge was moved to this gift by the consideration that her late "honored mother Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson . . . in her life-time did promise to give to God and the First Church and Society in Hartford, whereof the Rev. Mr. Daniel Wadsworth is now pastor, so much of that lot of land which my said mother purchased of Mr. Ebenezer Way . . . . as would be needful and convenient to erect and build a house for attending the public worship of God," as, also by her own sense of duty to "honour God with my substance and to return to him and the Church some part of that which in his kind providence he has given unto me." She therefore proceeds to grant a lot of seventy-nine feet frontage and ninety-eight feet depth, on Main street, lying to the "South of the gate opening into" a certain "barn-yard" which she owned along that street; which

[11] *Col. Rec.*, vii, p. 380.

barn-yard itself lay to the south of the acre of ground ceded by Mrs. Woodbridge, for the consideration of £100, to Rev. Daniel Wadsworth, and which is nearly enough represented by the lot occupied by the Wadsworth Athenæum.[12]

The land given lay thus, it appears, in the vicinity of that on which St. John's Church is now standing; it may be wholly to the north of it; but with the intervention of the often referred to barn property of Mrs. Woodbridge, between it and the Wadsworth lot. Things were now apparently clear. A lot given in free possession, and a vote of the Society, June 20th, five days before the writings were actually passed, that the "Meeting-House to be erected shall be seventy foot in length and fourty-six foot in breadth," and a resolve of the Assembly that the house be built there.

Feeling the impulse of the new departure, it was at this June meeting of 1733 that the Society voted to make trial, under certain conservative conditions hitherto specified,[13] of the new "singing by Rule," which the old Pastor, Mr. Woodbridge, had argued for, but died without the hearing of.

But some way things moved slow. Eighteen months went by and nothing done but doubtless plenty of growling. Then, on December 25, 1734, the Society voted that the new edifice "shall be of brick;" ordered a "Rate" for their purchase, and appointed a building committee. But still there was impediment. Four meetings of the Society were held at the Court House between January 15th and the "first Thursday

[12] The grant to Mr. Wadsworth of the land on which he built soon after, and where he lived till he died, was made the same day as the deed to the First Society. But Hon. T. Day, in his Athenæum Address, was certainly in error in stating that the north line of the Society lot, and the south line of the Wadsworth lot were identical. The barn property intervened between the two ceded parcels.

[13] *Ante*, pp. 226–229.

in March" 1736, at which the meeting-house question was debated. On the occasion last named, the following questions were put to the suffrages of the Society:

"Whether under the difficulties of proceeding to build a Meeting-House on Mrs. Woodbridges Lot, in that about fifty of our Society refuse to pay anything toward building there, you think Convenient or proper to proceed further without addressing the Generall Assembly for their further direction. Voted in the Negative by 41. . . .

Whether the Society voat that Dea. John Edwards and Mr. Edward Cadwell shall apply themselves in behalf of this Society to the Town's Committee to Set out a place for this Society to build a Meeting House . . . on the burying Lot . . . as the Town vote hath Impowered them. Voted in the affirmative."

Against these votes and two others, passed at the same time, raising a committee to carry the "whole difficulties of the Society" before the General Assembly, eighteen members of the Society entered a "protest" on the records, reciting that the Society had "already once agreed, and voted to build a meeting House for Divine Worship at a certain determinate place as the records show, and obtained a legal Sanction according thereunto," and declaring that "wee ought to abide by and conform ourselves to the said Agreements, Covenants and Determinations."[14]

Both parties took their case to the Assembly — the majority of the Society requesting the Assembly to reconsider its locating order of 1732; the protestors reciting the facts, and stating that "materials, brick, etc., in great quantity" had been provided, a "rate of 12 pence in the pound" levied, a

[14] The protestors were "Hez. Wyllys, Tho. Richards, Cyp: Nickols, James Ensigne, Saml. Catling, Benj[a] Catlin, Saml. Shepard, Jonathan Butler, Tho. King, Thomas Ensign, jun[r]., Thomas Hopkins, Joseph Shepard, Jonathan Mason, Jonathan Taylor, Moses Ensign, John Shepard, Jonathan Easton, Joseph Shepard, jun[r]."

building committee appointed, but that "at present the work ceaseth." The Assembly apparently listened more to the protestors than to the petitioners, and did nothing.

The protestors were, however, by the 4th day of October, willing to modify their position so far as to accede to a proposal to Mrs. Woodbridge to take her barn-yard lot — higher, dryer, and a little farther north along the street — instead of the one formerly given for the site of the new meeting-house; and a committee was appointed to wait on her and see what she would do about it. The obliging lady consented to give a deed of exchange on condition that the Society move her old barn or build a new one. Which being reported to a Society meeting on October 5th, it was voted, with a dissent only of four, to build on the barn-yard lot. The meeting being a small one, another was held October 11th, when, two only dissenting, it was determined to "proceed to build where the Barn now stands, provided the General Assembly should order and allow us to do so." The Assembly did so with alacrity; resolving, at its October session, in view of the record of a "Vote of all of said Society then present except two," that

"The said place where the barn stands be and is hereby fixed and determined to be the place for building and erecting a meeting house by and for said first society, any other place appointed or act passed notwithstanding." [15]

But the new lot was still a few feet further from the old meeting-house than the burying lot would be. And then the removing of the barn! and the "underpinings!" The possibilities of the conflict were not exhausted. Church-building quarrels never are. In somewhat curt terms the Society voted, on the 17th day of January 1737—after hear-

[15] *Col. Records*, viii, p. 74.

ing a committee appointed to confer with Mrs. Woodbridge on the 4th of the same month—"that this Society will not Choose or Impower any Committee to Treat with Mrs. Abigail Woodbridge any further Respecting the moving of the Barn;" and appointed a committee to buy a small part of Capt. Nathaniel Hooker's lot "next the Burying Lot;" resolved that the building should be of wood, sixty feet in length and "fourty" in breadth, and authorized some of its number to apply to the committee empowered by the Town in December, 1730, to have the portion of "the Burying Lot" designed for occupancy, "Determined and Set out."

This resolve to abandon Mrs. Woodbridge was, however, attended with one awkwardness. The Society had twice memorialized the General Assembly for leave to put its house on land given by that lady, and the Assembly had twice directed the Society to build there. That direction was still in force. The Society rose to the occasion. A vote was passed, the 26th day of April, which first brings the arduousness of the enterprise of encountering what had hitherto been only called "Mrs. Woodbridges barn," distinctly and even pathetically before us:

"This Society taking into Consideration the Great Charg of moving Mrs. Woodbridges Great Barn, Cowhousen, Long House, with all theire underpinings &c; the hazard after all if they should fall Down; and then we must be at the Expense of Building a New Barn of 30 feet in breadth and fifty in Length, all or either of which would Greatly weaken & Disenable us in Building oure Meeting House . . . . it is Voated . . . . to address the General Assembly in May next that we may have Liberty to set our Meeting House partly on the Burying lot and partly on Capt. Nathaniel Hooker's Lot."

The Assembly compassionated the appeal, and resolved at its session in May, 1737:

"This Assembly having considered the affair with the several places proposed to build the house on, do now resolve and determine that the south east part of the burying lot in Hartford, with part of Capt. Nathaniel Hooker's lot adjoyning thereto shall be the place to erect a meeting house upon by and for said society, and do order said society to proceed to build accordingly." [16]

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[16] *Col. Records*, viii, p. 110. It is not, perhaps, surprising, in view of the general constitution of the feminine, not to say the human mind, that Mrs. Woodbridge did not altogether enjoy this treatment of her.

She withdrew attendance from the First Church worship and went to the Second Church. The Society re-deeded the land to her (not, however, till after request made by her) on the 7th of October, 1737. And on the 29th of December, 1738, the following vote was adopted: "Whereas this Society have reason to think that some things which have happened Relating to the place of Setting a Meeting House hath been Greavous to Mrs. Abigail Woodbridge, Rellict of our Late Reverend & Worthy Pastour which has occasioned her withdrawal from us, We would signify unto her that we have a Grateful Sense of the Generous Regard she hath shown to this society in time past, and hope she will not Remember whatsoever hath been greavous to her in the affaire aforesaid, and that her Return to this Society is what we desire and should Greatly Rejoyce in." This vote was conveyed to Mrs. Woodbridge by a committee, of which Capt. Hez. Wyllys was chairman. The lady was not implacable. She returned to the congregation, and died in its fellowship.

Mrs. Woodbridge was the great-granddaughter of Elder William Goodwin of Hartford, and daughter of John Warren of Boston; was born May 10, 1676. She married Richard Lord of Hartford, Jan. 14, 1692. After Mr. Lord's death, in 1712, she married Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, in 1716. By him she had one child, Theodore, baptized June 23, 1717, who died young. Through her mother, Elizabeth (Crow) Warren, afterward Wilson, she became the inheritor of the original Elder Goodwin lot in Hartford, on Little River and Main street, up to this time undivided.

During her husband's lifetime, in 1727, she gave a communion cup to the First Church in Hartford, bearing her name inscribed. This cup the Church sold, in 1803, for fifteen dollars. In 1883 it was re-purchased by Wm. R. Cone, Esq., at an advance of five hundred per cent., from J. K. Bradford of Peru, Ill., a grandson of Dr. Jeremiah Bradford, who bought it at auction in 1803. Mr. Cone re-presented the cup to the Church, in a letter dated May 17, 1883, and on Sunday, June 3d, it was used again in the communion service, after an absence of eighty years.

Mrs. Woodbridge survived her second husband twenty-two years, and died Jan. 1, 1754. Concerning one item in her will, the records of the First Church bear this memorial: "Hartford Jany 22^{d} 1755. Recieved of Mr. Epaphras and Ichabod Lord, Executors to the last will and testament of Mrs. Abigail Woodbridge, Six pounds Lawful Money, it being a legacy left by said Mrs.

The situation for the house being now, after eleven years conflict, finally determined; and the Society having variously resolved that the house should be of "brick" and then of "wood;" should be seventy, sixty, and sixty-six feet long, and forty-six, "fourty," and forty-six feet wide, operations at length seriously commenced. [17]

A plan of the house was drafted by Mr. Cotton Palmer of Warwick, R. I., he being paid therefor £1. On Monday, June 20, 1737, work was begun on the frame of the new edifice. Sunday, July 31st, was the last day of public worship in the old house, some of its materials being used in the new. The pulpit and suitable seats were ordered removed from the church to the State House, which was to be used in the interval between the two meeting-houses. A grave question shortly arose, however, about the bell. The bell had been broken in 1725, and recast in 1727, at the cost of both societies. Overtures were made to the Second Society, on July 4, 1737, proposing that as the "vote of both societies was that the bell should be hung in the old church until the major part of both societies agree to hang it in another place," that the Second Society should bear a "proportionable part" in building "a steeple to hang the bell in;" and offering, if there was any hesitancy on the part of the Second Society people to take this course, to leave the matter of the "charge each society shall be at in hanging

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Woodbridge to be loaned out at Lawful interest and the interest to be improved for the use and benefit of the poor members of the first Church of Christ in Hartford. I say recd. p^{r} us, Edward Dorr, pastor, Jos. Talcott, John Edwards, Deacons. The money is loan^{d} out and Deac^{n} Edwards has the obligat^{n}." What has become of it?

[17] Mr. C. J. Hoadly's careful examination of the construction accounts of Dea. John Edwards, and his articles on the subject in the *Courant*, in January, 1868, leave little untold which can be told about the building of the new church. His examinations have been liberally appropriated in the ensuing paragraphs.

said bell," to "three judicious disinterested persons of some other society." No apparent arrangement was, however, arrived at, and the Society, on the 14th of July, ordered the steeple built.

August 8th, the foundation work of the house was begun. Sills were laid September 8th. Raising the frame lasted from the 13th to the 22d. Mr. David Smith gave a barrel of cider for the occasion. £10 were also paid for liquor for this endeavor. Rum and sugar were furnished the men at the brick kilns; it being the old New England tradition that both heat and cold alike, demanded alcoholic antidotes. By October 1737, the frame had been raised, the steeple partly erected, shingles and boards had been procured. The roof was covered in that autumn.

In May, 1738, Mr. Cotton Palmer began to make the spire above the bell-deck, for which he was to have £250. The gilded cock and ball which surmounted it cost £52 13*s.* 6*d.* On June 5th it was voted to give Mr. Palmer £700 to finish the body part of the meeting-house, "materials being found him;" a sum which Mr. Palmer apparently thought too small, and the fixing of which seems to have cost the Society a year's time. Next year £800, exclusive of the cost of the masons' work, was tendered, and Mr. Palmer began to labor in May. The masons began plastering on the 17th of September, and on the 23d of December, 1739, the house was finished, save the stepstones, which were not set in place till the summer of 1740, and "a small matter to be done to the steeple."

This house stood sidewise to the street, its steeple on the north end. There was a door at the south end, another on the east side, and another under the steeple on the north. The pulpit was on the west side, and over it a sounding-

board, and behind it a curtain, which, with its rings and trimmings, cost £2 3*s*. 7*d*.[18]

Dea. John Edwards, whose record of accounts gives many of the minor details of the building above-mentioned, writes on the cover of his book—very much in the spirit of Nehemiah's rehearsal of his pains at Jerusalem—that he had taken pen in hand about 5,000 times in the affair. He reckons up 196 persons engaged in the undertaking, of whom he marks 124 as dead by October 1767. He, himself, died in May 1769.[19]

[18] "Within the house, at the head of the 'Great Alley,' which, not obstructed now as in the former one, by the bell-ringer and his rope, extended from the front door westward, the pulpit arose to an altitude easily commanding every foot of the surrounding galleries, furnished with an imposing canopy or sounding-board, and the handsome window hangings behind. Beside the cushioned desk was placed a new hour-glass, its case of a model and finish more pretentious than its predecessors. Mr. Seth Young thought the Society could well afford to pay £6 for it, but the bill was settled for £5 10*s*. 1*d*. Another aisle probably crossed the house from the north or tower entrance to that at the south end. Plain seats or slips occupied most of the middle of the audience-room at first, some pews being placed probably at either side of the pulpit, and perhaps extending as far as the north and south doors. Mr. Gerard Spencer turned something over nine hundred 'bannisters' for the tops of them. In 1750 the Society ordered four more to be built, two on each side of the 'Broad Alley,' and others from time to time were placed there as wanted, until most of this part of the floor was occupied by them. The windows, in the lower part of the house, at least, appear to have been fitted and hung with pulleys procured by John Beauchamp from Boston. Other persons at sundry times delivered considerable quantities of iron 'to make waits for y^e^ windows,' so that these convenient appliances at present to be found in our houses are not of so modern invention as some of us had supposed. Cords to hang the sashes were doubtless made here; various purchases of hemp and flax 'to make rope' are noted upon Mr. Edwards' book, and one large rope 'with block' for the raising was bought at Northampton." Dea. Rowland Swift, *First Church Commemorative Exercises*, pp. 156–157.

[19] Dea. John Edwards was son of Richard Edwards, by his second wife, Mary Talcott, and born February 27, 1694. He was grandson of William Edwards, one of the first settlers of the town. Rev. Timothy Edwards of East Windsor was his half-brother; being Richard Edwards' second child by his first wife Eliz. Tuthill. On the 2d day of March, 1747, the Society voted £80 "to Mr. John Edwards for his care and service in building y^e^ meeting house."

On the 18th of December, 1739, a committee was appointed "to Seat oure meeting House," with the advice of Governor Talcott; and a vote adopted that "no Lecture" be preached in it "before we meet in it on the Sabbath." The dedication services took place December 30th, Rev. Daniel Wadsworth preaching the sermon,[20] from Haggai, ii, 9. *The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of Hosts.*

The "*Doctrine*" of the sermon is "that it is *Christ's* Presence in it, that renders a House of Publick Worship truly glorious." And as this pamphlet gives us our only clue to Mr. Wadsworth's style of preaching, it may be well enough to quote one or two brief passages:

"*Improvement* VII. *Let us all be Exhorted to Bless and Praise Almighty God for that he has favoured us with so convenient and decent a House to Worship in.* It is now some months more than One hundred and three years since the publick worship of God was first set up in this Town by our *Pious Progenitors*, who left Father and Mother, Brothers & Sisters, Houses and a pleasant Land, and some of them Circumstances of ease and plenty with respect to the things of this world, and followed the Lord in a Wilderness, a Land not sown; that there they might serve him in peace in the manner they apprehended most agreeable to his Will: They are dead and buried and their Graves are with us. And the House which they in the Infant State of the Town prepared to Worship God in, is also gone. . . . . Yet blessed be God that there yet remains so much care and concern about Religion, that by his Blessing on our Endeavours we are provided with Another House for Publick Worship, more beautiful, comely & decent than the former. . . . . *Improvement* VIII. *Finally, Let us all be instant and fervent in Prayer for a Blessing on the Word Preached and on the Sacraments Ad-*

[20] The sermon was printed at New London in 1640, by T. Green, 4°, p. 28. A copy is in the Historical Society Library.

ministered here. Let us be Earnest in prayer to God that his Word may have free course here and be glorified; and that Sacramental Administrations may quicken, comfort and edifie us, and abundantly promote our growth in grace. Forget not to pray that the Gospel in the dispensation of it may be *the power of God to the salvation of many.* And for Me, *to whom tho' less than the least of all saints is this grace given that I should preach the Unsearchable Riches of Christ;* That *Utterance may be given unto me that I may open my mouth boldly to make known the Mystery of the Gospel,* that so many may be Born unto God in this House; That the Lord may count when he writeth up the people, *That this and that man was born here.* Let us pray that those who Minister to the Lord here, from Time to Time, *may be cloathed with Salvation and that the Saints of the Lord may shout for joy.* That this Church which is part of the Mystical Body of Christ *may* continually be Edified."

And so, at last, the new church-edifice which had succeeded to the one which stood, as Mr. Wadsworth says, "99 years" in Meeting-house Yard, was fairly dedicated and entered on.

But, alas, things are never quite right in this world. A Society meeting was held on the same day as the dedication exercises, and "Mr. Joseph Gilbert jr. presented a Memoriall setting forth Sundry Greavances respecting the seating of oure Meeting House, and more Especially respecting the Committy Seating Him." The matter was referred, but whether the "greavances" of Mr. Gilbert were removed does not appear. Such grievances were almost inevitably incident to the usage of dignifying the house. The modern method of letting everybody set his own valuation on himself, is attended with at least one advantage.

The completion of the meeting-house and the termination of the long controversy attending its location, must have been very welcome to Mr. Wadsworth and the more spiritual

portion of his Church. These years of controversy had been, naturally, years of religious barrenness. From June 1733, when the more active phase of the meeting-house trouble began, to May 1737, when the order of the Court finally locating the edifice ended it, only fifteen persons came into full communion, and only nineteen even owned the covenant. Meantime, only so far away as Windsor, a very remarkable revival had taken place, under the ministry of Rev. Jonathan Marsh. Other places in Connecticut, also —Coventry, Lebanon, Durham, New Haven, Hebron, Bolton, Groton—were the scenes of similar awakenings; and very eminently, Northampton in Massachusetts, in connection with the preaching of Jonathan Edwards.[21] The year 1735 is, indeed, commonly taken as the commencement year of that period of revivals which has passed into New England history as the era of the "Great Awakening." It was however the year 1740, just at the opening of which the new meeting-house here in Hartford was dedicated, which was the beginning point of the most interesting and important period of that revival time.[22] The three or four following years wrought a change almost amounting to a spiritual revolution in the moral condition of the churches.

It was in 1740 that Rev. George Whitefield made his first preaching tour through New England. The religious condition of the community was eminently favorable for his

[21] Edwards' *Faithful Narrative*, pp. 42–46.

[22] There is an interesting letter in the possession of Dr. J. H. Trumbull, addressed to Rev. Daniel Wadsworth by Rev. Philip Doddridge, acknowledging the receipt of one from Mr. Wadsworth, written Sept. 15, 1740, in which Mr. Wadsworth had obviously spoken with cheer about the state of matters here; and Mr. Doddridge congratulates him on the "happy situation both of your civil and ecclesiastical affairs." Mr. Doddridge's letter is dated at Northampton, England, March 6, 1741; and speaks of Mr. Wadsworth's letter as arriving "this evening."

success. The memory of the awakenings in many places from three to five years before was still fresh, and their beneficent results were plainly visible. Mr. Whitefield came with every advantage which kindled expectation and fore-running rumor of transcendent eloquence could impart. He was already famous in England. He had just completed a preaching tour through the middle and southern Colonies of this country, which had been attended by intense excitement and admiration, and by apparent spiritual success. In August 1740, he was invited by several of the most distinguished clergymen and members of the churches of Boston, to come to that place and to New England. He responded to the call, arriving at Newport on September 4th. His youth, his eloquence, his peculiar position as an Episcopal minister of the established church in full sympathy with the doctrines and the piety of the Puritans, attracted universal attention and general good-will. The whole region east of the Hudson may be said to have been on tip-toe to see him. A general expectation of great results from his ministrations went before him, and prepared the way. Indeed, a careful and sympathetic historian of the "Great Awakening" expresses the suspicion that the outburst of religious emotion which was ready at any time that year to flame out, was suppressed and kept back to await the coming of the eloquent evangelist.[23]

His success at Boston was triumphant. The churches were not able to contain the crowds who thronged to put themselves under the charm of his fervid utterances. He was obliged to hold meetings on the Common, and at various places out of doors. His transcendant voice is said to have rung clear in the ear of audiences of twenty thousand. He

[23] Tracy, *Great Awakening*, p. 83.

preached in the adjacent region about Boston as far as Marblehead; sometimes twelve or sixteen times a week. He took up large collections for his Georgia Orphan-Home. He was entertained by the chief men of the Colony, both of Church and State. No such general prostration of a community before one man, and he a gospel preacher of twenty-five years of age, was ever known in New England before, and none has been known since.

Thus heralded and adored Mr. Whitefield came westward. Leaving Boston, Monday, October 13th, "kissed" by Governor Belcher, whom he left bathed in tears, he preached his way from point to point in Massachusetts, till on Friday, October 17th, he reached Northampton. Sunday evening he left Northampton, accompanied by Jonathan Edwards, who attended him as far as the house of Jonathan's father, Timothy, at East Windsor; preaching on Monday at Westfield and Springfield, and on Tuesday at Suffield, by the way. Tuesday afternoon he preached at East Windsor, and there Jonathan Edwards had a conversation with him to which there will be occasion hereafter to refer. Next day, Wednesday, October 22d, he was here at Hartford, and in the morning preached—doubtless in the new meeting-house—to an audience, as he says in his journal, of "many thousands."[24] The afternoon of this same day he preached at Wethersfield, where he issued a card, published in the Boston *News-Letter*, canceling certain preaching appointments.

[24] Whitefield's estimates of the numbers of his hearers have to be taken with a good deal of allowance for his vivid imagination. He speaks of preaching to "six thousand" in the Old South Church at Boston, and to "about six thousand" in the New North Church at Boston, "besides great numbers about the doors." The Old South still stands. Its recent seating arrangement gave room for more people than when Whitefield preached in it. A careful estimate of its capacity gave seats for twelve hundred and sixteen. It is not probable that twenty-five hundred people were ever in it at once. The Hartford Church would probably have been jammed to suffocation with twelve hundred.

From Wethersfield he went via Middletown and Wallingford to New Haven, preaching at each of these places by the way. Thence, after holding several services in New Haven, he departed, preaching as he went, through Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, and Norwalk, to Rye and New York. Of Mr. Russell of Middletown, Whitefield says, "O that all ministers were like minded."

This is one of the indications at this early date that all the ministers of the Colony did not equally approve the methods and utterances of the young evangelist. But it is probable that there was no considerable public dissent at the time expressed by many. The records of this Church show an accession of twenty-five to its full communion membership in the twelve months after Mr. Whitefield's transit through Hartford, and of eleven to its covenant.

These seem no great results, and they are the most marked by far, of those belonging to any one year of the Great Awakening period in this Church; but they show a healthful change of proportion in the members covenanting and the numbers admitted to a fellowship which implied some religious experience.[25]

Upon that particular phase of operations which Mr. Whitefield advocated and represented, it is probable both the Hartford ministers and both the Hartford churches looked askance, and perhaps did so equally. Trumbull does, indeed, mention Mr. Whitman with a group of others, who were in general supporters of Mr. Whitefield, as favoring "the work in

[25] The interest in Hartford was great enough, however, to attract the attention of that excellent man, Rev. Jonathan Parsons of Lyme, who came here in March, 1741, to learn what he ought to believe concerning the "surprising operations" here, of which the reports were spread abroad.

The records of the Second Church of Hartford of the period are lost. Those of the church in West Hartford show an accession of forty-five members in 1741, and seven in 1742.

Connecticut." And so doubtless he was a favorer of the revival of God's work, and so doubtless was Wadsworth.

But there is evidence enough, as will be seen shortly, that whether right or wrong in their views, there was no separation of judgment between Wadsworth and Whitman upon this question. Or if so much is to be very doubtfully conceded to Trumbull's collocation of names, as to suggest the possibility of Whitman's favoring a first Whitefieldian visit, he certainly did not favor a second.

Why was this, and why was the very awakening which so marvellously blessed Connecticut and blesses it to this day, the occasion for a sharp conflict of feeling and judgment among the ministry and the churches, leading to many deplorable actions and utterances on either side? The reason is not far to seek. It has been acutely remarked that "the Whitefield of history is not exactly the Whitefield of popular traditions."[26] The Whitefield of the historic pilgrimage of 1740, was a young man of only twenty-five; of burning eloquence and impassioned zeal, but of more enthusiasm than judgment; denunciative, censorious, uncharitable; lending the weight of his tremendous popular influence to the encouragement of those fanatic extravagances of experience and of expression into which intense religious excitement is always prone to degenerate. Coming from England, where possibly in his time, the accusation of "carnality" and "unregeneracy" might perhaps have been flung abroad against the ministry of the ecclesiastical establishment, without serious damage, except indeed to charity, he gave tongue to such accusations in this country of Puritan birth and traditions, where certainly he had little if anything to justify them.

[26] Dr. Bacon's *Norwich Address. Con. Eccl. Hist. Conn.*, p. 53.

Before he had yet set foot on Connecticut soil, the rumor of his habit in this respect caused even a letter of invitation addressed to him by the Eastern Consociation of Fairfield, to caution him against "personal Reflections to wound the Characters of others who have been generally accepted among Christians for their piety."

At Suffield he inveighed against "unconverted ministers as the bane of the Christian Church." At Windsor the calm-minded Jonathan Edwards conversed with him about his practice of "judging other persons to be unconverted," and about the large place Mr. Whitefield accorded to the enthusiastic "visions" of new-awakened enquirers or converts; a conversation which Mr. Edwards says Whitefield did not seem to be offended at, but that he "liked me not so well for opposing these things."

But the caution was useless. At New Haven, three days later—and of all audiences to the college boys—he "spoke very closely to the students, and showed the dreadful ill consequences of an unconverted ministry;" a topic he followed up all the way to New York. It is hardly strange that men in the ministry much the elders of this juvenile evangelist, conscious of their own sincerity and trustful of their own conversion, should disrelish being practically denied all "savor of godliness," for doubting the wisdom of some of Mr. Whitefield's utterances, and the judiciousness of some of his measures. But to doubt was to be accounted an opposer of God's work, and went far, of itself, to show that a man had —as David Brainard said of Tutor Whittelsey, who became soon after pastor of the church in New Haven—"no more grace than a chair."

But all of Mr. Whitefield's censorious utterances might have been passed over in recognition of his youth and his devo-

tion, if it had not been for the actions of his followers. Many of these, ordained ministers, either having no proper charge or forsaking it, went through the Colony at their own will, disregardful of the wishes of the settled clergy, encouraging discontent with the usual ministrations of the pastors, and disseminating crude and enthusiastic opinions as to the tests of piety and the methods of attaining it. A numerous crop of lay exhorters, whose zeal was a substitute for knowledge, thrust themselves into the function of preaching, at no other appointment than their own, and were loud and clamorous largely in proportion to their ignorance. Such persons especially put great stress upon "visions" and "voices" in the awakening stages of the religious life; professed infallible ability to discern spirits, especially the spirits of ministers; and passed sudden and damnatory judgment on all who doubted their ability absolutely to know and declare the mind of the Lord.

So manifest had become the evil of this state of things within ten months after the passage of Mr. Whitefield through the Colony, that an unusually full meeting[27] of the Hartford North Association, on the 11th of August 1741, discussed and answered the following questions among others:

"Whether any weight is to be laid on those preachings, cryings out, faintings and convulsions which sometimes attend y^e^ terrifying language of some preachers and others, as Evidences of or necessary to a genuine conviction of sin,

[27] Present, Timothy Edwards, East Windsor; Saml. Whitman, Farmington; Saml. Woodbridge, East Hartford; Jonathan Marsh, Windsor; Benj. Colton, West Hartford; Stephen Steel, Tolland; Thomas White, Bolton; Daniel Fuller, Jeremiah Curtis, Farmington; Elnathan Whitman, Hartford 2d; Daniel Wadsworth, Hartford 1st; Samuel Tudor, Poquonnock; Andrew Bartholomew, Harwinton; Hezekiah Bissell, Wintonbury; Jonathan Marsh, jr., New-Hartford. *Ms. Records.*

humiliation and preparation for Christ. Agreed in the Negative, as also that there is no weight to be Laid upon those visions or visional discoveries by some of Late pretended to, of Heaven or Hell, or ye body or blood of Christ, viz. as represented to ye eyes of ye body.

"Whether ye assertion of some Itinerant preachers that ye pure gospel and especially ye doctrines of Regeneration and Justification by faith are not preached in these churches, their rash censurings of ye body of our clergy as Carnal and unconverted men, and notoriously unfit for office is not such a sinful and scandalous violation of the fifth and ninth commandments of ye moral Law as ought to be testified against, and such preachers not be admitted to preach in our pulpits and parishes until they have as publickly manifested their repentance as they have given out their false and scandalous assertions. Agreed in ye affirmative."

At the same time the Association considered this further question: "What is to be thought of the religious concern that is at this day so general in ye Land?" To which was given this answer:

"Wee trust and believe that the holy Spirit is moving upon ye hearts of many, that many have received of late a Saving Change in many of our Towns, and hope and desire that through grace many may yet be savingly wrought upon; but there are sundry things attending this work which are unfruitful and of a dangerous Tendency, and therefore advise both ministers and people in their Respective stations cautiously to guard against everything of that nature, and wee for ourselves seriously profess our willingness to encourage ye good work of God's Spirit agreeable to his Word to ye utmost of our power."

But the fire of enthusiasm could not be extinguished. It grew fiercer and spread wider. One of those who most actively fanned its flames was Rev. James Davenport of Southold, L. I. He was a son of Rev. John Davenport of Stamford, and great-grandson of Rev. John Davenport, the

clerical founder of New Haven Colony. Whitefield had met him at Stamford in October 1740, and afterward in New Jersey, and pronounced him the "nearest to God of any one he had known." Being swept away in the general excitement of the time, Davenport abandoned his own parish, and set out on an itinerant mission among the churches. He was a man of a wild sort of vehement eloquence, and wherever he went created great excitement. He denounced ministers generally, as unconverted, and called on people to abandon them. He wrought upon the excited imaginations of his hearers, encouraging wild outcries of anguish or rapture; declaring in volcanic utterances that "he saw Hell-Flames flashing in their faces," and that many of them before his eyes were "now! now! dropping down to Hell." On one occasion he is reported by an eyewitness thus: "He came out of the pulpit, and stripped off his upper garments and got up into the seats, and leapt up and down sometime, and clapt his hands and cried out, the War goes on, the Fight goes on, the devil goes down, the devil goes down; and then betook himself to *stamping* and *screaming* most dreadfully." [28]

In July 1741, he invaded Stonington, and preached with great effect, and it is said also with some lasting beneficial results. In August he called on Mr. Hart of Saybrook for the use of his pulpit, at the same time admitting that he was accustomed to condemn ministers as unconverted. A vain attempt was made by Rev. Messrs. Hart, Beckwith, Worthington, and Nott to come to some Christian understanding with him. He preached some time at Saybrook, against the remonstrance of the pastor, though not in the church. He went to New Haven in September. Mr. Noyes, the pastor

[28] Chauncy's *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion*, p. 99.

of the church, gave him his pulpit, but he presently declared Mr. Noyes "unconverted," and originated a quarrel which split the church into two permanently dissevered portions.[29]

Prosecuting his work in this manner and with these results, it is not strange that accustomed as the legislature was to be invoked, and to interpose without being invoked, on almost all ecclesiastic occasions, Mr. Davenport should have encountered the attention of the civil authority.

He was arrested on a warrant from the General Assembly, together with Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy of Hebron, on complaint from Ripton parish in Stratford, alleging that Davenport and Pomeroy were there collecting assemblies of people, mostly children and youth, and under pretence of religious exercises, were inflaming them with doctrines subversive of all law and order.

The complaint was made on the 27th of May, 1742, and Davenport and Pomeroy were brought before the Assembly at Hartford on June 1st. The hearing occupied two days, and was in the "meeting-house,"[30] doubtless of the First Society. The Assembly was in a rather severe mood. Rev. Isaac Stiles of North Haven, had preached the sermon at the opening of this May session, and had earnestly and even violently inveighed against the disturbances of the time, and the irregularities of doctrine and practice by which many of the warm advocates of the religious movement had been characterized. Governor Law, who had shortly before succeeded Governor Talcott, was a vigorous opponent of the

[29] Tracy's *Great Awakening*, pp. 235–236. Bacon's *Hist. Discourses*, pp. 214–223.

[30] Boston *News Letter*, No. 1997. The meeting-house was often used on occasions of great public interest, as affording better accommodations for the spectators. The proceedings on this occasion seem to have been by Joint Assembly. The Convention for ratifying the United States Constitution by the State of Connecticut was held in the First Society meeting-house, in 1788.

new measures, and possibly had little sympathy with any fervent type of piety. Under his lead, it is alleged,[31] the Assembly at this May session passed a most stringent law, forbidding any minister to preach in any parish not expressly under his charge, without leave given from the minister of the parish and a majority of the parishioners; and imposing as a penalty for the breach of this enactment, a deprivation of all ecclesiastical rights and the requirement of a penal bond of £100 for each offence.

By this same act, any "foreigner or stranger, that is not an inhabitant of this Colony," whether ordained or unordained, who should preach, teach, or publicly exhort in any town within the Colony, without the consent of the settled minister and the majority of the people, was liable to arrest as a "vagrant" and to be sent out of the Colony.[32] The ground on which the Legislature based this extraordinary enactment, as set forth in the preamble, seems to be the assumption that the Saybrook Platform of 1708 was binding upon all the churches as the settled ecclesiastical law of the Colony. So far as that assumption prevailed, it was certainly wholly unjustifiable. The Saybrook Platform was binding only on churches which accepted it. The law by which the legislature ratified it in respect to them, plainly expresses this. For years no one had imagined otherwise. Other churches had all along existed, organized on the Cambridge Platform, and had never acceded to the Saybrook system at all. And the Assembly itself, in 1730, had expressly declared that beside the Saybrook Platform churches, Congregational—as the Cambridge Platform churches were sometimes called—and Presbyterian churches were allowed and protected by law.

[31] Trumbull, ii, 162.

[32] *Col. Records*, viii, 456–7.

This action, therefore, of this legislature of 1742 seems to have been based on a false assumption of law and facts, as well as on a violent infringement of what many regarded as the rights of nature and of conscience. The legislation thus inaugurated was followed up in subsequent years by other enactments designed apparently to enforce the universal reception of the Saybrook System; producing in the effort endless ecclesiastical strifes and separations, and doing much to bring disrepute upon the ministry and upon the system these enactments were intended to uphold.

Yet the excitement of the time, and the great disorders attending the ministrations of the itinerant evangelists must be remembered in extenuation. Nor does the Assembly seem to have dealt harshly with the particular offenders whom we have seen summoned before its bar. The trial as has been said lasted two days. The town was in a great state of excitement. As the arrested ministers came out on to the meeting-house steps, on the conclusion of the first day's hearing, Davenport began a vehement harangue to the crowds about the door. The sheriff took hold of his sleeve to lead him away. "He instantly fell a praying, Lord! thou knowest somebody's got hold of my sleeve. Strike them, Lord, strike them." Mr. Pomeroy also called out to the sheriff, "Take heed how you do that heaven-daring action; the God of Heaven will surely avenge it on you. Strike them, Lord, strike them."

The partisans on either side rushed in to aid or to resist the sheriff. For awhile it looked as if the prisoners would be snatched away from him. But they were finally taken to a neighboring house; the disappointed portion of the mob crying out, "We will have five to one on our side to-morrow." The night was little less than a riot. An angry multitude gath-

ered round the house where the two ministers were taken, and were with great difficulty dispersed by the magistrates. In the morning forty militia men were ordered on duty to suppress disorder. At the conclusion of this day's hearing, the Assemby declared, that

"The behaviour, conduct and doctrines advanced by the said James Davenport do, and have a natural tendency to, disturb and destroy the peace and order of this government; yet it further appears to this Assembly that the said Davenport is under the influence of enthusiastical impressions and influences, and thereby disturbed in the rational faculties of his mind, and therefore to be pitied and compassionated, and not to be treated as otherwise he might be."

They therefore under the provisions of the act respecting "strangers and foreigners" just passed, ordered him to be sent to Southold out of the jurisdiction. And so, about four o'clock in the afternoon, between "two files of musketiers," Mr. Davenport was marched from the meeting-house down to the Connecticut river, and put aboard the vessel of one Mr. Whitmore, at anchor there; who having received his charge set sail immediately. Mr. Pomeroy was discharged without penalty. He was an excellent man; an enthusiastic supporter of Whitefield and the new measures; had a long and honorable ministry at Hebron, though deprived and suspended for some seven years from his legal rights in his parish, for preaching in Colchester without the consent of Mr. Little, the minister there; and thus made dependent on the voluntary contributions of his congregation. He however outlived all the trouble of those excited days, and died in 1784, at eighty-one years of age.

Mr. Davenport continued his extravagant career awhile after the episode at Hartford, preaching in Boston and the vicinity, where he again encountered the law and was

again adjudged to be of unsettled mind. His last outbreak of fanatic extravagance was at New London, where on March 6, 1742, he headed a party of his adherents in making a bonfire of dangerous books; shouting "Glory to God" round the pile, and declaring that as the smoke of the burning books rose up to Heaven, so the smoke of the torment of their authors' souls was now ascending in hell. Among the books thus burned were those of Flavel, Beveridge, Increase Mather, Dr. Sewall and Dr. Colman of Boston, and Jonathan Parsons the godly and revivalistic minister of Lyme.

Two years later however, under the influence of Rev. Messrs. Wheelock and Williams of Lebanon, Mr. Davenport wrote and published a confession and retraction of his errors and extravagances. But he had done mischief he could not undo. His former friends mainly pronounced his recantation an apostacy, and however sincere, they regarded it as a fraud. He gave occasion to many Separatist divisions in the churches in Connecticut, and was the foster-father in them of many extravagances in belief and practice, to the long dishonor of religion. His last days were spent in New Jersey, in comparative quiet and orderliness of life. The charitable judgment respecting him is that he was partially insane, and that the excitement attendant on the Whitefieldian campaign was too much for his reason.

All these things show the intensity of feeling connected with the "Great Awakening" period, and the sharp division of sentiment which separated both ministers and people, as they looked on one or another aspect of the time. Those who regarded the new measures of the itinerant evangelists with some degree of distrust; who believed in the superior usefulness, on the whole, of a settled ministry laboring in an appointed field, and in sober manifestations of religious

zeal, were stigmatized as Old Lights, Arminians, Formalists, and as inculcators of "mere heathen morality." They were reproached as setting themselves against God, as being opposed to the revival, as careless respecting the souls of men. Even the historian Trumbull does not fail, again and again, to make these implications concerning the general body of the ministers of that day who did not endorse all the New Light measures.[33]

But there was really no just ground for such charges. There is no substantial evidence that the mass of the clergy or of the church-membership, who looked somewhat askance on the methods and views which sprang up in connection with the "Great Awakening," were either unevangelical in doctrine or unsolicitous for men's salvation. The charge of being so is one easy to make, always is made, in every period of revival when any one dissents, however conscientiously, from the counsels of the most fervid promoters of any of its methods. Our New England history has given opportunity for such charges, oftentimes. They have been made in very recent days.

The middle path of wisdom is hard always to keep. It is probable that this Hartford Church, and the ministry of this Association, leaned somewhat strongly to the conservative side.[34] The movement, as a whole, was one for which

[33] It seems that Rev. Mr. Whitman, of the Second Church, was thus regarded by some of the more enthusiastic of his church-members; some of whom withdrew from his ministrations and attended public worship elsewhere. See the letter addressed to Mr. Whitman, February 9, 1744, in reply to counsel sought by him, by Jonathan Edwards. Dwight's *Life of Edwards*, pp. 204–209.

[34] A slight but significant token of the feeling here, may be discerned in the fact that among the subscribers to Chauncy's *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England*, published in 1743 (which was the great book on what the New-Light men deemed the "Old-Light" and "anti-revival" side) may be found six members of the Hartford Association (Mr. Whitman of Farmington subscribing for two copies); and nine members of the two central Hartford churches (Mrs. Abigail Woodbridge subscribing for three copies).

we have reason to bless God through all subsequent history to this day. Perhaps a larger share of benefit might have accrued to this community and to the surrounding towns, had these ministers and churches thrown themselves more into the line with Wheelock and Pomeroy and Bellamy, and even tolerated somewhat more generously a Davenport. It may be so, and it may not. Certainly this community was comparatively spared some of those ecclesiastical scandals which lacerated and dishonored religion in some parts of the Colony, where freer run was given to the new measures of the new men.

In 1745, Mr. Whitefield was a second time in New England. It was reported that he would make a second progress through Connecticut. The General Association, meeting at Newington, on the 18th day of June—Benjamin Colton of West Hartford, Moderator, and Elnathan Whitman of the Second Church, Scribe—voted as follows:

"Wheras there has of late years been many Errors in Doctrine and Disorders in Practice, prevailing in the Churches of this Land, which seem to have a threatening aspect upon these Churches, and whereas Mr. George Whitefield has been the Promoter or at least the Faulty Occasion of many of these Errors and Disorders, this Association think it needful for them to declare that if the said Mr. Whitefield should make his Progress through this Government, it would by no means be advisable for any of our ministers to admit him into their Pulpits or for any of our People to attend upon his Preaching and Administrations."

Dr. L. Bacon says "every word" of this resolution is "literally true." Yet, he pronounces the adoption of it "an error as grave, and likely to be as mischievous," as any error of Whitefield's.[35] Possibly. But the ministers who passed it

[35] *Norwich Discourse, Conn. Hist. Cont.*, p. 54.

were in fresh view of the disorders which were visible all over Connecticut, and had not the experience of another hundred years of the habitude of toleration, which is so easy to us.

The views of the local Hartford Association were as definite, and were earlier expressed. At a full meeting of the body at Windsor, February 5th, 1745, a testimony was drawn up, signed, and subsequently printed,[36] declaring that

"As the Errors, Disorders and Confusions, which for some years past, have so generally prevailed through the Churches of this Land, had their Rise (as we apprehend) from the Preaching and Management of the Rev. Mr. *George Whitefield* in his former visit to *New England*, ... we the associated Ministers in the Northern Part of the County of *Hartford*, think it needful to bear a publick Testimony against him and his conduct . . . . hereby declaring that under the present Circumstances of Things we shall by no Means admit him into any of our Pulpits, and in Faithfulness to the People under our respective Charges we would solemnly warn and caution them to take Heed and beware of Him."

In pursuance of these convictions the Association, at a meeting in June 1746, appointed a committee—of which Mr. Whitman of Farmington, and Messrs. Whitman and Wadsworth of Hartford, were members—to examine Mr. David S. Rowland, candidate for the ministry in the northwest society in Symsbury, now Granby; and instructed their committee "to see to it" that Mr. Rowland "approve and submit to the Ecclesiastical Constitution established in the Churches of Connecticut," as, also, that the "said Rowland will not countenance and encourage Mr. Whitefield by inviting him to preach or attending his administrations, or any

[36] See Appendix IX for the document, which is a rare one, and for the signatures.

other Itinerant Preachers, or any other of the errors, separations or disorders prevailing in ye County."[37]

But right or wrong, as any one may choose to think the Association, the Church, and Mr. Wadsworth were on the chief ecclesiastical question of the day, his own share in influencing the determination of any such questions was about over.

The last entry by him of any ministerial act in the Church record was the baptism of a child, December 7, 1746. A Society meeting on the 26th of January following, took action for securing a minister "during Mr. Wadsworth's absence, provided he go to Sea for his health." On the 2d of March, and the 4th of August, votes indicative of the Pastor's "indisposition" are recorded; and on the second of those occasions a committee was instructed "to apply themselves to Mr. Edward Dorr to Continue to Administer to this Society during Mr. Wadsworth's Incapacity, and as need shall Require."

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[37] At a meeting on the 1st of October previous, the Association, in respect to the same Mr. Rowland, voted "they do not advise his settlement in the work of the ministry" at Symsbury. It is obvious from the vote in June that the hesitation was on account of Mr. Rowland's conjectured or known views on the live question of the day.

Mr. Rowland was apparently settled in accordance with this vote, but the *Society* at Simsbury, the following January (1747) voted:

"1. Y^t we chuse y^t ye church in this Society shall be a settled Congregational Church. . . . .

"3. Y^t as we know of no human composition y^t comes nearer to ye Scriptures than the Cambridg platform, so we chuse y^t ye church in this society shall take it in ye substance of it under ye Scriptures for their rule of church government and discipline. . . . . .

"5. Voted y^t we naurtheless are not straitened in our charity toward our neighboring churches y^t are settled under Saybrook platform, or those called Presbyterians."

With a minister committed to the Saybrook system, and a society voting thus, a few weeks after his settlement, that the "Cambridg platform" was the highest human composition, it is not strange that Mr. Rowland, settled with so much trouble, should be unsettled with no trouble whatever. The event took place in August 1747. He was subsequently "settled" in Plainfield, March 1748, and unsettled, April 1761. After preaching awhile at Providence, R. I., he was installed pastor of the first church in Windsor, March 27, 1776, where he died, honored and loved, January 13, 1794.

Mr. Wadsworth died November 12, 1747, lacking two days of forty-three years of age, having filled a pastoral term of fifteen years and two months. He left a widow and six children.[38] He seems to have been a man beloved and respected, though there is no indication that he was a man of remarkable gifts or attainments. He was one of the Trustees of Yale College from 1743 to his death, having apparently been elected in the place of Rev. Samuel Woodbridge. The numbers admitted to the fellowship of the Church—seventy-five to the covenant and one hundred and three to full communion—do not appear large for the Great Awakening period; but the proportion of one class to the other indicates a healthful condition of the Church, and implies a right view of things in its Pastor. The period, too, had its local drawbacks, and some of them were felt in Hartford in full measure.

Mr. Wadsworth, like some of his predecessors in the pastorate, was a man of considerable property. He had patrimonial lands in Farmington and a homestead here. His estate was appraised at upwards of £2,000. His library[39] gives no indication of special proclivities on his part to any particular subject of enquiry. It compares quite favorably with the libraries of ministers generally, situated as he was.

Mr. Wadsworth sleeps beside those who occupied his office before him, in the old Hartford burying-ground.

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[38] His wife, as has been said, page 277, was Abigail, daughter of Gov. Joseph Talcott. They were married February 28, 1734. Their children were, Abigail, b. January 28, 1735; Eunice, b. August 31, 1736, d. July 23, 1825; Elizabeth, b. July 19, 1738, d. November 15, 1810; Daniel, b. January 21, 1741, d. November 3, 1750; Jeremiah, b. July 12, 1743, d. April 30, 1804; Ruth, born 1746, d. December 27, 1750.

Jeremiah married Mehitable Russell, and became the father of Daniel, the founder of the Athenæum, and of Catherine and Hannah. With this Daniel, who died in 1848 without children, the name of Wadsworth, in the direct male line from Rev. Daniel, became extinct.

[39] See Appendix X. The exaggerated valuation put on the books shows the depreciated state of the currency, and suggests that the estate of Mr. Wadsworth may not have been as large as the figures suggest.

CHAPTER XII.

EDWARD DORR AND HIS TIMES.

As Mr. Wadsworth had been called in to supply the need occasioned by Mr. Woodbridge's disability, and had succeeded to the pastorate, so Mr. Edward Dorr, preaching awhile in Mr. Wadsworth's illness, followed also in his office.

Rev. Edward Dorr was born at Lyme, November 2, 1722. He was the second son of Edmund Dorr, clothier, of Lyme, and grandson of Edward Dorr, the first of the name in this country, who came to Roxbury, Mass., about 1670. His mother was Mary, daughter of Matthew Griswold of Lyme.

From the age of eight years to his entrance at Yale College, probably at sixteen, his religious impressions, outside of those of home life, must have been derived from the ministrations of Rev. Jonathan Parsons,[1] who was settled in Lyme in 1730, and who was one of the most zealous and useful of Connecticut ministers in the era of the Great Awakening. To whom

[1] Jonathan Parsons was born at West Springfield, Mass., November 30, 1705; graduated at Yale College in 1729, and ordained in Lyme in 1730, where he remained till 1745. He was one of the most efficient promoters of the revival of 1740. His account of the revival in Lyme, dated April 1744, is one of the most interesting papers belonging to the period. His sermon, *A Needful Caution in a Critical Day*, of the same year was an exceedingly useful production in restraining the excesses of the time. The last thirty years of Mr. Parsons' life were spent at Newburyport, where he was pastor of what is now called the Old South Church, and where, in a vault beneath the pulpit, his remains lie beside those of Rev. George Whitefield, who died at Mr. Parsons' house, September 30, 1770. Mr. Parsons married while in Lyme, Phebe Griswold, a cousin of Rev. Edward Dorr. He was one of the ablest and best men of his period.

especially he was indebted for the impulse which prompted his union with the church in Lyme, June 7, 1741, cannot perhaps be told. He was at that time a member of Yale College, and may have been converted in the college revival, or previously under Mr. Parsons' ministry at home. His name stands the eleventh on the list of the fifteen graduates of the class of 1742; the order of which list was at that day determined, not by scholarship or by the alphabet, but by the supposed social standing of the graduate or of his family.

Mr. Dorr was licensed to preach by the New Haven Association, May 29, 1744. On the 13th day of the following September he received a divided call, by a vote of seventy-seven to forty-three, to the church in Kensington; a call conditioned furthermore by the proviso that "Rev. W^m^ Burnham [2] will oblige himself to relinquish his salary at or before y^e^ settlement of said person," the "much esteemed Edward Dorr."

Into the church and parish quarrel at Kensington it is not needful here to go.[3] It will suffice for the present chronicle to say that a Council of ministers called by the church to consider the complicated situation, advised on January 2, 1745, that Mr. Dorr continue to preach till the following June, "by which time God in his providence may more open and clear the way of his and your duty." On the 5th of June the Association advised his settlement. On the 10th of October the Society voted him £700 "old tenor" as a settlement, and £50 annually as salary for six years, and £60 a year afterwards. These propositions were accepted by Mr. Dorr, in a letter dated at Lyme, October 30, 1745.

[2] Rev. Wm. Burnham settled at Kensington 1712; died September, 1750; was the second husband of Ann Foster, daughter of Rev. Isaac Foster of the First Church of Hartford, who was married to him after the death of her first husband, Rev. Thomas Buckingham. See *ante*, p. 219.

[3] The matter may be traced somewhat more at large in Andrews' *New Britain*, pp. 47–49.

Nevertheless the matter hung. Mr. Burnham's health improved. The chronic clamor for a division of the parish increased. On the 20th of August 1746, the Society voted a reconsideration of its proposals to Mr. Dorr. A Council called in to advise, recommended a support of Mr. Burnham.

The following August, 1747, found Mr. Dorr preaching in Mr. Wadsworth's pulpit in Hartford, and the Society voting to apply to him to "continue" to do so; the language, taken in connection with former votes providing for a supply in the Pastor's disability, intimating that he may have been preaching in Hartford some time.

Mr. Wadsworth's death, on the 12th of November following, opened the way for proposals for Mr. Dorr's settlement. "Mr. Daniel Edwards, Mr. Joseph Talcott, and Mr. George Wyllys," were therefore appointed on the 10th of December, to apply for the advice of the Association respecting the settlement of Mr. Dorr, and to that gentleman himself, on the same subject. The Association and the candidate both having apparently given favorable responses, the Society on the "third Thursday of January" 1748, proceeded formally to invite Mr. Dorr to the pastorate.

The monetary negotiations in connection with this settlement of Mr. Dorr may be a little more fully detailed than their intrinsic importance demands, as affording an illustration of the tangled condition of all commercial transactions conducted at that time.

The Society voted, in calling Mr. Dorr, to give him as "a Settlement 2000 Pounds old Tennor in equal Proportion yearly within Two years," and also give him annually "such a sum in Bills of Credit or Current money as shall (as the same becomes dew) be equal in Value to the sum of Eighty

Pounds in silver money, accounting silver at the Rate of Eight shillings pr. Ounce."

On the first Thursday of February following, these propositions were, on report of the committee, changed to the following: an annual salary of "seventy Pounds in Silver money at Eight shillings pr. Ounce;" the "whole Occupancy, use and Profits of the several parcels of Land and Meadow to this Society or Church belonging;"[4] a "Sufficiency of Firewood for the Use and Comfort of his Family;" and for his "Settlement among us the full sum of Three Hundred Pounds in Bills of Credit in this Colony of the New Tenor, within one year after his Ordination, and also one Hundred and Fourty Pounds in Silver money or bills thereto Equivalent within two years."

At a meeting on the 16th day of February, Mr. Dorr by letter dissented from these proposals, and a large committee was appointed to confer with him. Two meetings were afterward held; the final outcome of which was an agreement to give Mr. Dorr an annual salary of seventy-five pounds in silver at eight shillings an ounce; the use of the Society lands; his firewood, and three hundred and thirty pounds in bills of new tenor, and one hundred and forty pounds in silver, or bills equivalent, as a settlement.[5]

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[4] The Society owned lands in the North and South Meadows, on the west side of the town, and on the east side of the River. The Holloway house and lot (see *ante*, p. 221) was also still in possession.

[5] It is disappointing that after all this elaborateness of arrangement, there should be room for such misunderstanding as to the equivalency of one or other currency that such votes as the following several times appear on the Society record, viz., Jan. 16, 1756, "Voted and agreed that Messrs. Geo. Wyllys Esq^{r}, Danl. Edwards Esq^{r}, John Cook, Thomas Hopkins, John Sheppard, Joseph Wadsworth jr., & Hezekiah Marsh, be a committee with full power to Treat and agree with the Revd. Mr. Edward Dorr touching said equivalent, and firewood for this year: and that said sum or sums as they the s^{d} committee or the major part of them, either together or without the s^{d} Mr. Dorr, shall be agreed

The salary question thus hopefully but delusively disposed of, and provision made for the "proper & Decent Entertainment of the Ministers &c that may be attending on that Business," the ordination took place.

Mr. Dorr recorded the procedure with his own hand, as Mr. Wadsworth had done before him. "April the 27th 1748. Edward Dorr was ordaind Pastor of the first Chh of Christ in Hartford. The Revd Mr. Bissel began with prayer. Ye Revd. Mr. Whitman preachd a sermon from 2 Cor. 4–5, the Revd Mr. Colton made the first prayer. Mr. Whitman of Farmington gave the Charge. Mr. Steel made the second prayer, and Mr. Whitman of Hartford gaue the right hand of fellowship. Give me grace O God to be a faithfull & make me a successfull minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ—E. Dorr." [6]

Following closely the steps of his predecessor in the way of introduction to the Hartford pastorate, Mr. Dorr followed his example, also, in marrying into the influential Talcott family. He took for his wife Helena, younger sister of Mrs. Wadsworth, and youngest daughter of the then lately

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on as an equivalent to said sum of £75, and also sufficient to provide or satisfy for sd firewood, shall be duly paid to Mr. Dorr."

The non-equivalency of silver and of bills continued all through Mr. Dorr's pastorate and the New Tenor, as they had under Mr. Wadsworth and the Old Tenor. In the last eight years of Mr. Dorr's ministry, from 1764 to 1772, about ninety pounds in currency seems to have been regarded as the equivalent of the £75 stipulated.

In May 1768, a vote was passed that individuals furnishing Mr. Dorr his firewood, on their rate account, should have it credited to them at seven shillings a cord for Oak wood, and nine shillings for Walnut.

[6] The minutes of the Hartford North Association contain, on a fly-leaf, the record of the Council. There were present Rev. Messrs. Whitman of Farmington, Colton of Hartford (West), Steel of Tolland, Whitman of Hartford, Bissell of Wintonbury, and Williams of East Hartford. Also the following Messengers: Deacon John Hart, Dea. William Gaylord, Dr. Cobb, Dea. Isaac Sheldon, Col. Joseph Pitkin, Mr. Matthew Rockwell. Rev. Samuel Whitman of Farmington, now seventy-two years old, was Moderator, and his son Elnathan, of the Second Church, was Scribe.

deceased Governor Joseph Talcott; a lady born March 13, 1720, being thus two and a half years his senior. Whether the marriage occurred before his settlement, there seems no means of determining. The very particular stress about "Firewood for the Use and Comfort of his Family," suggests, perhaps, that the event had already taken place or was known to be impending.

The new Pastor was, at his settlement, a little more than twenty-five years of age. The era upon which he entered upon his work was one of general religious declension, which lasted, with only slight and local interruptions, beyond the period of his pastorate. In fact, if the period from 1735 to 1745 may be called the era of the "Great Awakening" in New England, the period from 1748 to 1795 may be called the era of the Great Decline.

The controversies of the preceding years, growing to some extent out of the Whitefieldian movement; the separations which took place from many Connecticut churches, and the ecclesiastical difficulties and scandals arising from those separations; the restiveness of many under the Saybrook platform, and the determination of others for the strenuous administration of the discipline established by that platform; the distracting influence of the French war, and the absence, however accounted for, of those divine spiritual influences which seem at times to triumph over all obstacles—all combined to make this period of the Colony's religious history one of general monotony and discouragement.

In the midst of this comparatively depressed state of affairs there is every indication that Mr. Dorr exercised a laborious and faithful ministry. The accessions to the Church were few, but somewhat regular and continuous. Two hundred and seven persons owned the covenant, and

fifty-five were admitted to full communion, during the twenty-four years and five months of his pastorate. The comparison of these numbers with the seventy-five who owned the covenant and the one hundred and three who were admitted to full communion, in the fifteen years of Mr. Wadsworth's pastorate is significant. Especially significant is the striking alteration of proportion between those covenanting and those communing. It is plain that a larger and larger number of people were contenting themselves with such a merely formal assent to the gospel as carried with it the privilege of a qualified church-membership, but implied no spiritual change. The state of affairs was more and more approximating the condition of a State religion, to escape from which was one of the main reasons for the fathers' flight to the American wilderness. The "parish-way," which John Davenport had deplored the beginnings of in this Colony, had prevailed, and the church was suffering from the consequences.

Against this condition of affairs the ministers of Connecticut made earnest, if only partially successful, struggle. The records of the General and local Associations show that the sorrowful condition of things was distinctly discerned, and that sincere efforts, if not always the wisest ones, were made for its remedy.

In 1748, the year of Mr. Dorr's ordination, the General Association found it necessary to bewail "the great prevalence of vice & prophaneness and a Lamentable Indifference in spiritual concerns;" and called upon the ministers "to take frequent Opportunities to Discourse in private with particular persons upon Religious things." In 1755 the General Association exhorted the ministers "to insist upon those Doctrines in our Confession of Faith which are contrary to

the prevailing Errors of the Day; and particularly that they bear a seasonable Testimony against *Socinianism*, *Arianism*, *Arminianism* and *Pelagianism*." In 1756, the Association, "In consideration of the threatening Aspect of Divine Providence at this day, particularly in the frequent and amazing Earthquakes[7] and their terrible Effect in various parts of the Earth, and especially the strange, unusual and distressing War[8] in this Land, as also in consideration of the awful Growth and Spread of Vice and Immorality," recommended that "every last Thursday in every Month for several Months coming," be observed as days of humiliation and prayer. The same Association took measures for a new edition of the Confession of Faith and Platform adopted at Saybrook in 1708, copies of which "had become scarce in the churches;" which new edition was printed in 1760.

But war times are always times of religious decline. And Connecticut was at this time bearing her full share of the burden and the anxiety of the French and English contest. As early as 1755, a year before the war had been formally declared, Connecticut had in actual service between two and three thousand men. In 1757, after the attack on Fort William Henry, the Colony had about six thousand of her men under arms. The quota generally demanded of Connecticut

[7] On the 18th of November, 1755, there was the most powerful earthquake ever known in this country. It occurred about four o'clock in the morning and continued nearly four and a half minutes. At Boston 100 chimneys were shaken down level with the roof, and 1,500 others in part. The course of the earthquake was from northwest to southeast and was traced upward of a thousand miles. It was felt, across the apparent breadth of its line of undulation, from Halifax to Chesapeake Bay. *Boston Gazette, No.* 34; *Memoirs American Academy*, i, 271–276. This was the same month as the great Lisbon earthquake, which occurred November 1st.

[8] War had been in progress nearly two years, but was not formally declared till May 17, 1756, which was perhaps the "strange and unusual" thing the Association speaks of.

afterward, during the war till 1762, was five thousand. Of course this was an immense public expense, and a vast private anxiety. The cost of the war to this small province only, was over £400,000. Business was interrupted, industry crippled, life sacrificed, marriages retarded or prevented. Every social and religious interest necessarily suffered injury and loss.

Amid the general state of public anxiety and religious depression, a few notes of interest in local Church affairs may be gathered up.

On December 29, 1748, soon after Mr. Dorr's settlement, Mr. Joseph Talcott, son of the deceased Governor by his first wife, and consequently half-brother to Mrs. Dorr, was chosen one of the Deacons of the Church; which office he probably filled till his death in 1799, at the age of 98; a period of fifty years.

January 1, 1756, Mr. Ozias Goodwin, grandson of Ozias the first settler, was chosen Deacon. He exercised the office twenty years, dying in January 1776, aged 87 years.

January 18, 1769, Capt. Daniel Goodwin, great grandson of Ozias first, was chosen Deacon. He filled the office only three years, dying January 6, 1772.

In 1755 it was thought necessary to enlarge the meeting-house to "accomodate the Inhabitants of the Society," and a committee was appointed for the purpose, but the matter seemed to go no further. Probably the need was not great. The whole number of inhabitants at this time in Hartford, including East and West Hartford, was less than thirty-five hundred; and some quite appreciable portion of these must for the next seven or eight years have been absent in the war. And there were four meeting-houses.

In 1756 the society voted that their "Committee Inform

Mr. Dorr that this Society are desirous that Dr. Watts' Psalms may be sung in the Congregation at the time of Divine Worship at least half y^e^ time."[9] In 1760 a rate of £12 was levied to procure "a convenient number of Curtains and a Cushing" for the meeting-house; a vote which was followed by one in 1769, to procure "Shutters for the West side" of the edifice.

A good deal of trouble all along these days seems to have attended the always vexatious business of "seating" the people. The resolutions are of unusual explicitness and formality. The year 1760 the Society took a different course, passing the following vote:

"Voted and agreed that the Inhabitants of this Society for the future and until the Society order otherwise, have Liberty to accomodate themselves with Seats in the Meeting house at their Discrestion, any measures this Society hath heretofore taken for Seating s^d^ House notwithstanding."

This democratic plan did not, however, seem to give satisfaction; for in April 1764, a committee was raised "to new seat the Meeting House in the Common and usual way and manner."

On Sunday afternoon, June 14, 1767, just at the conclusion of public worship, the steeple of the meeting-house was

[9] The introduction of Dr. Watts' Psalms was attended in many churches, with not a little opposition. At a meeting of the Hartford North Association, on October 5, 1742, the following vote was passed:—"This Association having heard y^e^ some difficultys have arisen in Goshen by Reason of y^e^ singing of Doct^r^ Watts psalms in publick worship, wee advise that for y^e^ present they use only our common Version of y^e^ psalms of David in public worship." The first London edition of Watts' Psalms was published in 1719. The first Boston edition (being the thirteenth up to that time) was printed in 1741. Whether the Goshen people had got hold of this Boston imprint or had been using some one of the London editions cannot, perhaps, be proved. It rather strongly illustrates the conservatism of the Hartford Church, however, that fourteen years after the Goshen congregation had been making use of Watts' version, this Society should have only got so far along as to petition the minister to try it "at least half y^e^ time."

struck by lightning, and Sarah, daughter of John Larcum, was killed, and others were injured by the shock and by the rush to get out of the house in the panic which ensued. A rate was shortly after ordered, of £130, for the repair of the damage done to the steeple and "to procure an Electrical Rod or rods as is thought necessarry." This rod is said[10] to have been "among the first and possibly the very first one in Hartford." A town clock, it is also stated—some remains of which still exist in the loft of the present church-edifice —was procured and placed in the repaired steeple about this time.[11]

For some reason or other the Society saw fit, in Mr. Dorr's time and shortly after, to alienate certain lands which had been in possession many years, and to which reference has been made in Isaac Foster's period.[12] Thus, three acres on the "West side of the town" were leased June 19, 1759, for 999 years to Caleb Turner for £15, and one silver penny annually; one acre in the South Meadow to Joseph Church for 999 years, on May 6, 1769, for other land and one barley-corn rent; three acres and forty rods "East side the River," September 19, 1769, for 999 years to David Case, for £3 5*s*, and one barley-corn rent; fourteen acres in the North Meadow, May 2, 1774, to William Wadsworth for 900 years, for £270, and one wheat-corn rent; and the Holloway property (deeded "to be held as a Parsonage land forever") to Jonathan Wadsworth, for £141 15*s*, and one wheat-corn annually for 900 years.

But probably the most interesting local religious matter, outside the routine of Church and parish affairs, which

[10] C. J. Hoadly, *Courant*, Jan. 25, 1869.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] See *ante*, p. 221.

occupied the notice of Mr. Dorr and his good people, was the attempt made to plant an Episcopal church here. This endeavor began with the preaching in Hartford by Rev. Thomas Davies early in 1762. On the 6th of October of that year, ground was purchased for a building a little to the north of the present Christ Church edifice—Church Street not being then opened. Land was bought and foundations were partly laid. But the enterprise suffered from the general hardship of the times and languished incomplete. In 1768 the land and the foundations were sold by Dr. Wm. Jepson —who thought himself some way authorized to do so—to Robert Sanford, who in turn conveyed the same in 1769 to Samuel Talcott, Jr., a member by Covenant of the First Church, and brother-in-law of its Pastor. Mr. Talcott subsequently entered on the land and carried off the foundations to build a house of his own.[18] These events could not, of course, occur in the little village that Hartford then was, without—as Timothy Woodbridge said of another local quarrel eighty years before—"jogging all the attoms of the whole ant heap."

And, indeed, the extension of Episcopacy in Connecticut was, by the generality of the Congregational ministers and churches, regarded as inimical both to civil and religious liberty. The question was not wholly a religious one. A

[18] The Court, being appealed to, restored the land, on December, 1772, to the Church. The movement made no progress, however, till after the Revolutionary war, when, in 1786, it was effectually revived, and a society organized November 13th. But the remembrance of the old trouble survived in the happy day of laying the foundations of an edifice which was to be the first Episcopal Church building in Hartford. It is said that "when sundry were gathered to see the commencement of the work, Prince Brewster, the mason, a member of the parish, said, 'I lay this stone for the foundation of an Episcopal Church, and Sam. Talcott, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'" See C. J. Hoadly's *Appendix* to Christ Church *Semi-Centennial* pamphlet, 1879.

profound conviction was entertained that the introduction of Prelacy, meant the enlargement of authority. The extension of the English hierarchical system to America, signified a new hold of English rule upon the New England provinces. It was quite as much as a danger to the State that the extension of Episcopacy was opposed, as it was a danger to the religious establishment. The Colonists knew well the assimilative power of religious and civil institutions brought into contact with each other. And they perceived a peril in the engrafting the prelatical system, which is naturally harmonious with monarchy, upon their democratic institutions, still in the gristle of youth. Kingly supremacy and Episcopal rule were correlated facts, to be resisted alike and on substantially the same grounds. This peril, which was removed by the events of the Revolution and the general establishment of the country on democratic foundations, was constantly before the minds of the Colonial fathers.

Nor was the apprehension thus felt at all lessened by the obvious solicitude of the Home Government in England about the condition of religious affairs in America. The frequent interrogatories of the Lords of Trade and Plantations as to "the Perswasion in Religious matters most prevalent" here, and "what proportion in number and quality of people the one holds to the other," had not been unnoticed or forgotten. And the direct endeavors of prelates like Secker and Sherlock to promote the establishment of an American episcopate; and the appeals to the King, to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, by the Episcopal clergy of several of the Colonies, in the furtherance of this design for the extension of the Anglican hierarchy to this land, were

recognized, and honestly feared, as ominous alike to religion and to liberty.[14]

The General Association of this State in 1766 received and responded to an overture from the Presbyterian Synod of New York and Philadelphia, for conference and agreement in "measures that may be adopted to preserve our Religious liberties against all encroachments." The particular peril to be guarded against is not specified; but it was well understood to be the proposed establishment of bishops in America. As a result of the conference between the General Association and the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, a correspondence was opened with the Committee of Dissenters in England, and measures set on foot for ascertaining the relative numbers of Episcopal and non-Episcopal inhabitants in the Colonies. The result of the Connecticut enquiry was that in 1774 there were in Hartford, in a total population of 4,881, only 111 Episcopalians.

The Revolutionary war, and the generally loyal attitude of the Episcopal Church to the Tory side of the conflict, postponed the development of the episcopate. But it was doubt-

[14] While these pages are passing through the press an *Address on John Adams*, delivered before the Webster Historical Society, January 18, 1884, in Boston, by Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, comes to hand, which admirably states the feeling of the Massachusetts and Connecticut Colonies on this matter: "The Church of England, so far as it had a civil establishment, was the creature of Parliament. It looked up to the King as its head, and to the Parliament as its law giver. Its creed and book of prayer were established by statute. It could not reform its own abuses. Through Parliament the laity amended and regulated the Church. The election of the bishops by the clergy was only nominal. The purity of spiritual influence was tarnished by this strict subordination to the temporal power. This was the system. Its administration was still more objectionable to the Puritans. Its establishment in New England meant a return to that state of civil and ecclesiastical affairs from which they had suffered so much, and from which they fled to the privations and sufferings of an inhospitable wilderness. So, at least, they regarded it. And the efforts of the Anglican hierarchy down to the Revolution never permitted this feeling to subside."

less with some reference to Episcopal separatism as well as separatism of other types than that, that Mr. Dorr in his Election sermon of 1765 [14] was moved to say,

"I readily own that every establishment of a religious kind should be upon the most generous and Catholic principles, and that no man or set of men should be excluded from the benefits of it for mere speculative and immaterial points, for different modes and ceremonies; it must be something very material and weighty that excludes any. And the great unhappiness in this case had been, not that religious establishments have been set up in the world, but that they have generally been founded upon too narrow, contracted and ungenerous principles. And magistrates have too often gone into violent measures in support of them.

However, I take it to be plain, that the civil interests of mankind, the safety of the State requires, that there be some religious establishments, and that the public be obliged in some just proportion to support them; nor have dissenters cause to complain of any little expenses on this account any more than of any other civil expenses whatever; there is nothing of persecution in it, nor can the consciences of any be in the least injured thereby, provided they are not compelled to be of the religion of the State, and are allowed to worship God according to the dictates of their own minds. This they have a right to expect, but they have no more right to ask for an exemption from contributing to the support of the religion of the State, than for any other measure the magistrate takes for the public good, which they happen to dislike. . . . . Suffer me here to querry with your Honours *Whether our laws in this Colony, made for the support of religion, don't need some very material amendments and alterations?* And if they be sufficient, *whether the construction*

[14] The Duty of Civil Rulers to be the nursing Fathers to the Church of Christ. . . . A sermon Preached before the General Assembly. . . . May 9, 1765. By Edward Dorr, A. M., Pastor of the First Church in Hartford. Hartford, Printed by THOMAS GREEN, at the *Heart* and *Crown*, opposite the *State House*, pp. 34.

put upon them in many of our executive Courts hath not a direct and natural tendency to undermine and sap the foundations of our ecclesiastical constitution? To me, I confess, it appears, that as a tax laid on the polls and rateable estate of the inhabitants of the Colony, is the only fund the law hath provided for the support of the ministry, the releasing of such members as have, on one account and another, been excused for contributing to the support of the religion of the Government is such a diminution of this fund, as hath a very threatening aspect on our ecclesiastical establishment, and naturally tends, not only to enervate and destroy the same, but even to root out the very being of a learned ministry from among us; and so is big with ruin, both to Church and State. And the danger in my apprehension, is increased from hence, that most of these dissenters are not by law obliged to set up and support any religion among themselves. And from principle they profess utterly to abandon and disclaim all covenants, all obligations of this kind.[15] Considering human nature as it is, and the difficult situation of the country as it is at this day, is there no reason to fear that many will forsake our worship and our churches, only from narrow and contracted principles of mind?"

If this passage shows that Mr. Dorr was not in advance of his age on the question of necessity of an Established Church, it clearly shows on the other hand that he was a man of good temper and of unusual clearness and power of expression. Granting his point of view, it would be difficult to state his argument better than he has done.

This favorable estimate of Mr. Dorr's ability and spirit is strongly confirmed by other portions of the Election Sermon; especially where he makes a warm and even eloquent plea for effort to Christianize the Indians. He says:

"A wide door is now opened for this purpose among the

[15] This particular asseveration had of course no reference to Episcopal dissenters, from the State religion. There were many, however, of whom it was accurately true.

heathen natives of this Land, and we shall be inexcusable, altogether inexcusable in the eyes both of God and man, if we neglect it. One great reason, I doubt not, why the heathen have been permitted to be such sore scourges to these Christian colonies, is because they have done no more to send the gospel among them. Many difficulties, I know, great and almost insurmountable difficulties, have ever heretofore attended this work; but by the success of the *British* arms in *America*, and the late peace so happily established with the *heathen natives*, the greater part of them are removed out of the way. We have not those pleas to make, in excuse for our own neglect, that we once had when the *French* were possessed of the greater part of the inland country, and were continually spiriting up the *Indians* against us. And I confess for my part, I have but little hopes or expectations of a settled peace with them, till we thoroughly attempt to send the gospel among them. Nor do I ever expect to see a more favorable crisis for this purpose than the present; considering the dispositions that many of these natives have lately shown; their earnest desire to be instructed in the principles of our holy religion, and to have their children educated after the English method; it appears to me that the most favorable opportunity now presents itself to make some vigorous efforts of this kind, that we have ever had, or probably ever shall have, if we neglect the present. Separate from all considerations of duty to our *Maker*, and viewing the matter only in a political light, it appears to me, to be our real interest to exert ourselves in this cause; because this, if we conducted as we ought, would convince the *Indians* that we were their real friends, and sought their best good, and so would naturally attach them to us in the strongest manner; and this would be a cheaper method of defence against their ravages and insults, than maintaining numerous armies and garrisons."

If, in reference to the question of an ecclesiastical establishment Mr. Dorr held the common views of his time, on this Indian question he certainly spoke words which are worth

reading by our Government to-day, as well as by the Colonial Government of 1765.[16]

The only other extant published production by Mr. Dorr is "a Funeral Discourse, occasioned by the Much Lamented Death of the Honorable Daniel Edwards, Esq., of Hartford." [17] Mr. Edwards died September 6, 1765, and the sermon was "delivered soon after his decease." It is a well written and earnest sermon, confirming the impression of Mr. Dorr's vigor of utterance and excellence of Christian spirit, but calling for no special comment beyond this.

Several of Mr. Dorr's predecessors in this pastorate died young or youngerly men. Haynes, Foster, and Wadsworth, all died so. He was to follow, if not indeed young, yet certainly not old. A kind of paralytic affection seems to have overtaken him at about forty-seven years of age, and to have increased upon him till his death.

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[16] In a note to the above quoted passage of his sermon, Mr. Dorr says, the "only endeavour of this kind, that I know of at this day, in the colony, is at *Lebanon;* The Rev. Mr. *Wheelock* has set up an Indian school there, and with indefatigable industry and zeal has collected a number of children to be educated after the English manner, and instructed in the principles of the Christian religion. He has lately obtained some help and a commission from the Society in *Scotland*, incorporating a number of gentlemen to act as corresponding members with them, for the purpose of promoting Christian knowledge among the *Indians*. But he has never yet obtained any considerable public encouragement from the government. . . . . All orders and degrees of men would do well to consider whether public guilt don't lie upon the land, for our neglect in these matters."

[17] Mr. Edwards was, as the title page of the sermon rehearses, "A Member of His Majesty's Council for the Colony of Connecticut, and one of the Assistant Judges of the Honorable, the Superior Court, for said Colony." He was the grandson of William Edwards the first settler, and brother of Deacon John Edwards, who did so much in the erection of the church edifice. He was born April 11, 1701; married Miss Sarah Hooker in 1728, and had five children, who all died in childhood but one daughter, Sarah, who lived to be married to Mr. George Lord. Mrs. Lord died in October, 1764, and Mr. Lord in October, 1765. Mrs. Edwards was a sister of Mr. Nathaniel Hooker, on part of whose lot the church edifice was built, after the long wrangle of 1726–1739. A copy of Mr. Dorr's discourse is in the Connecticut Historical Library.

The first intimation of such trouble appears in a Society vote in December 1769—based on the Pastor's representation that he was "unable to perform the work of the Gospel ministry in said Society without assistance"—to apply "to the ministers of the South Society for the purpose of supplying the pulpit as occasion may be, and in case they cannot be obtained" then application was to be made "to some other suitable person for the purpose." The hopefulness of the application to the ministers of the South Society lay in the fact that Rev. Wm. Patten had been settled as colleague with Rev. Elnathan Whitman in September 1767, two years previously. But the overture failed, naturally enough. Mr. Dorr's infirmity increased. Votes respecting it and the means of supplying the deficiency appear from time to time. It will be enough to give the last. At a meeting held September 7, 1772, it was resolved:

"Whereas by the Disposition of Divine Providence the Revd. Edward Dorr our present Pastor hath for some time past by meanes of Long and Continued Indisposition been taken off from his work in the Gospel ministry in this Society, and his present Circumstances being such as leave but little hopes of His recovery to former usefulness . . . . it is therefore voted and agreed that in the Opinion of this Society under our present Circumstances there is a Divine Providence for this Society to come into some measures to obtain some suitable Person as soon as may be to preach with them upon Probation for Settlement in the work of the Gospel ministry in said Society."

The 20th of October following Mr. Dorr died, aged forty-nine years and nine months. A funeral sermon was preached on the occasion by the now aged senior pastor of the Second Church, who had been the cotemporary in the Hartford min-

istry, both of Mr. Dorr and of Mr. Dorr's predecessor, Mr. Wadsworth.[18] Mr. Whitman says:

"I am sensible indeed, that Funeral Encomiums are apt to be looked upon by many only as a Piece of Flattery to the Living, and a Compliment to the Memory of the Dead. But I trust that I shall stand justified to you, and to all that were acquainted with the worthy Pastor I am now speaking of. . . . . His Natural Abilities were good, his Understanding clear and quick, and his Judgement solid and penetrating; and these Natural Abilities were greatly assisted and improved by a considerable Acquaintance with most of the Branches of human Literature. But it is more especially proper that I should consider him, as to his Acquaintance with Divinity, which his Business as a Minister, led him to make his principal Study; and here his knowledge appeared to be very extensive as to theoretical and practical Divinity; his Preaching was well adapted both to instruct and edify his Hearers. In his private Conversation he was pleasant, agreeable and entertaining; free from austerity and reserve. . . . . He was of a kind and benevolent Disposition, always ready to contribute to the Relief of those that were in Distress; this his own People have had large Experience of, and I doubt not will readily bear witness to, and I hope will long retain a grateful remembrance of. . . . . His natural Constitution was strong and firm beyond most of his Brethren in the Ministry, which enabled him to bear Fatigues and

[18] The title page reads, "Able and Faithful Ministers very needful for their People. A SERMON, Preached at HARTFORD, on the Day of the Interment of the *Rev.* EDWARD DORR, Pastor of the First Church of *Christ* there. Who Departed this Life October 20th, 1772, in the 50th year of his age, and the 25th of his Ministry. By *Elnathan Whitman*, A.M. Pastor of the *South Church* in *Hartford*. . . . . *Norwich:* Printed by Green and Spooner, 1773." pp. 29. Mr. Whitman dedicates his sermon "To Mrs. Helen Dorr, the sorrowful Relict of Rev. *Edward Dorr*." The "sorrowful Relict," who was Helena Talcott (see *ante*, p. 315), and who had no children, about a year after, November 2, 1773, married Rev. Robert Breck of Springfield, Mass.; exchanging thus a husband two years younger than herself, for one seven years older. Robert Breck was born 1713; graduated at Harvard 1730; ordained at Springfield, July 26, 1736; died April 23, 1784.

go through Difficulties, which few others were able to do; and the benevolence of his Heart always made him willing to lay out himself with Assiduity in doing Good to his People, in every Way in his Power.

"But toward the latter Part of his Life, he was attacked with a Disorder (supposed to be of the paralitic Kind) by which he was greatly weakened, and his Powers both of Body and Mind very much enervated. This Disorder, tho' it did not make very swift Advances at first, yet it quickly appeared to have made such an Alteration in him, that he seemed not to be the Man he used to be. His Sprightliness and Gravity were greatly abated and his Flesh emaciated, and his Strength decayed: and tho' for a considerable Time after he was first seized with this Disorder, he was able occasionally to perform some Part of his ministerial Work; yet he seemed to be slowly and imperceptibly declining. He was not insensible that his Situation was critical and dangerous, and that the Prospect of his Recovery was dark and precarious; yet under these gloomy Apprehensions, he manifested a Christian Patience and Fortitude of Mind, and seemed to be desirous of doing all the Good he could, and many Times exerted himself for this Purpose much beyond his own Strength.... Latterly he has been able to converse but very little, and that in a very broken Manner. No Means or Methods that could be used seemed to have much Effect toward putting a Stop to the Progress of his Disorder, but as it went on gradually increasing it at last put an End to his valuable and important Life, Oct. 20th, 1772, in the 50th Year of his Age and the 25th of his Ministry."

The age and announced reserve of the preacher on this occasion forbid us to think there was anything over-eulogistic in these utterances. And their curiously archaic and mechanic style, when compared with the utterances of Mr. Dorr quoted before, confirm the impression, gained in many other ways, that Mr. Dorr was a man of superior qualities of character and utterance. His lot was cast in a dull time of

the Church's history. He was cut off in the prime of his strength, and without posterity to keep his name in remembrance.[19] But the tokens that survive to us, give him not only a fair but a very honorable place in the line of the ministry of this Church. He lies beside his predecessors in the old burying ground.[20] And the present account of him may well enough end with the lines which follow the Rev. Mr. Whitman's sermon preached at his funeral, printed in the same pamphlet:

AN EPITAPH.

Wrote by a Friend of the Deceased.

His Flesh (where all that Man could boast
Appeared and shone) lies here in Dust.
Deep humbling Tho't to Sense; but Faith
Beholds his Triumph over Death!
His soul enlarged in happier Sphere,
Improved in all that blest us here;
His Body rests, 'till CHRIST shall come
And raise it to immortal Bloom:
Then like his Lord the Saint will shine
In Glories heavenly and Divine.

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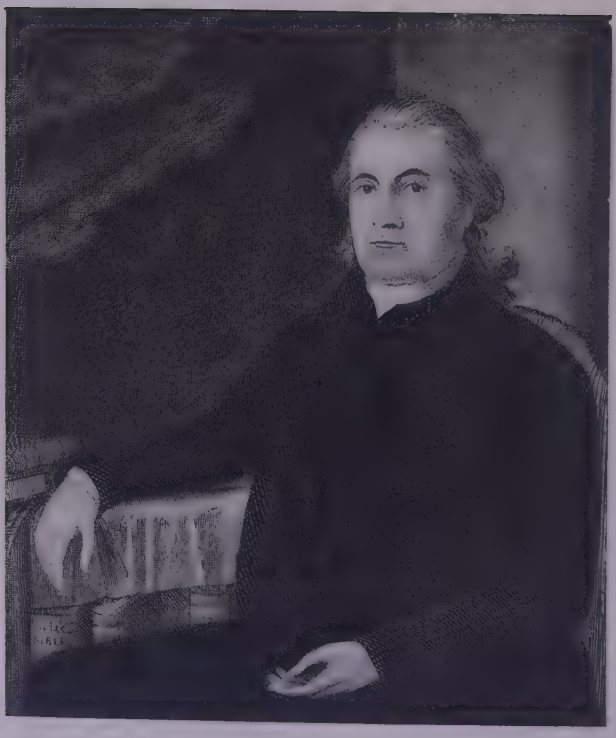
[19] Rev. Dr. Edward Dorr Griffin was nephew of the Pastor of this Church, and was named for him; being the child of his sister, Eve Dorr, remembered in Mr. Dorr's will.

[20] Mr. Dorr's Will, dated Jan. 2, 1770, and proved Dec. 3, 1772, gave all his real and personal property in Hartford (except his wearing apparel, which is left to his brothers, George and Mathew Dorr of Lyme, and £5 each to his sisters, Elizabeth and Eve) to his wife, Helena Dorr. The Inventory of his estate was returned to the Court "by Mrs. Helena Brick, alias Dorr." The whole amount of his Hartford property was £726 6*s.* 10*d.* His Library was valued at £19 4*s.* 4*d.*; his house and his homestead at £400; other lands at £126. Among the items of the inventory are "A Negro woman called Sikey £15; a Negro boy called Peter £55; a horse £10; a Cheise £9; Silver 54 oz. 7 penny weit."

Mrs. Helena [Dorr] Breck survived her second husband, Rev. Robert Breck, who died April 23, 1784; and probably returned to Hartford as her abode, dying July 9, 1797, and being buried in the same grave with Mr. Dorr.



Nathan Perry

CHAPTER XIII.

NATHAN STRONG AND HIS DAYS.

The protracted disablement of Mr. Dorr from the duties of his office and finally his death, made necessary the temporary service of other preachers, but no overtures to any of them reached the point of official record[1] till, on the 3d of December, 1772, the Society took this action:

"Voted to desire and direct the Societys Committee to apply to M[r] Joseph How to Know of him wheither He is so disengaged or at liberty that he can accept of an Invitation to preach upon probation in this Society in Order to Settle in the Work of the Gospel Ministry."

Mr. Howe, who was thus applied to, was one of the most brilliant men of his time, and though cut off from life in early manhood, has left traces of unusual warmth and color on the generally gray and musty pages of history. He was

[1] The late Harvey Seymour of this Church—who died April 25, 1881, aged 84, and who was a native of West Hartford, and well acquainted with Dr. Nathan Perkins—told the writer that Mr. Perkins was approached upon the question of the Hartford pastorate, before the death of Mr. Dorr. His father, however, Mr. Mathew Perkins of Norwich, an extensive landowner, advised his son Nathan to go to West Hartford rather than to Hartford, alleging that Hartford "was as big a place as it ever would be," and that the "good farms of West Hartford would be a better security for a minister, than the trade of Hartford town." The son took his father's advice, and was ordained in West Hartford Oct. 14, 1772, and the land interest so prospered in his hands, that when he died, Jan. 18, 1838, he was said to be the largest landowner in town. Dr. Perkins was born May 12, 1748; graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1770; married (1774) Catherine, daughter of Rev. Timothy Pitkin of Farmington; and fulfilled at West Hartford a useful and honorable ministry of sixty-three years.

born at Killingly, Jan. 14, 1747, and graduated with the first honors of his class at Yale College in 1765. Recommended by President Clap, he taught the Grammar School at Hartford after his graduation; was licensed to preach May 17th, 1769, and was Tutor in Yale College from 1769 to 1772.

He preached in Guilford, West Hartford, Wethersfield, and Norwich, and everywhere with singular and enthusiastic success. In May 1772, while on a journey to Boston for his health, he preached a single Sunday for the New South Church, and, in very unusual haste for the fashion of the times, received a call to settlement; the justification of such precipitancy being "the character which Mr. Howe had recieved from the voice of Mankind." He was installed in that pastorate May 19, 1773. Forced to leave Boston at the British occupation in 1775, he went to his old home in Norwich. From there he came on a journey to Hartford, where he died suddenly, August 25, 1775, at the house of Rev. Elnathan Whitman, to whose daughter Elizabeth[2] he was engaged to be married.

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[2] This was the young lady whose tragic after-history, told in the novel *The Coquette, or the Life and Letters of Eliza Wharton*, enchanted so the readers of our grandmothers' times, and has had a romantic interest ever since. In the *Connecticut Courant* of March 18, 1776, is an "Elegy on the death of Rev. Joseph Howe," written by a lady of his Boston church, in which the authoress depicts the funeral scene:

> "The fair ELIZA'S anguish who can paint
> Placed near the corse of our ascended saint?
> Though his blest soul ascends the upper skies
> Her gentle bosom heaves with tender sighs."

The same eulogy sings in reference to Mr. Howe as a preacher:

> "He in refined pathetic sermons shone,
> His diction pure, his methods all his own;
> While his melodious voice his audience blessed
> And rouzed each noble passion in the breast."

Mr. Howe was buried in the Old Burying Ground, Aug. 26th, the day after he died. No monument marks his resting place. See Sprague's *Annals*, vol. i, pp. 707–710, and *Courant*, Sept. 4, 1775, and March 18, 1776.

The overture to Mr. Howe was made, it will be noticed, in the interim between his reception of the Boston call and his rather delayed settlement there; which accounts for the rather hesitant and unexpectant terms in which it was phrased.

Failing in this motion toward Mr. Howe, the Society turned to another candidate—"Mr. Nathan Strong jr. of Coventry." It is impossible to say just when or for how long a time Mr. Strong preached "on probation" at Hartford. What appears in the terms of it like a positive "Invitation to settle in the work of the Gospel ministry," inscribed on the record under date of June 14, 1773, is somewhat perplexingly followed, on the 30th of September, by another vote that it is "the mind of this Society to settle Mr. Nathan Strong jr. of Coventry in the office of a Gospel minister here," and a resolution that "Messrs. Sam[l] Talcott, James Sheppard and John Lawrence be a Committee to attend upon and request the Advice of the Reverend Elders of the Northern Association" in the matter.

The Society also voted that in case Mr. Strong accepted the call there should be paid to him,

"The sum of four hundred pounds Lawful money within three years . . . and also this Society will annually pay to said Mr. Strong the sum of one hundred and thirty pounds Lawful money as a Salary for and during his Service and Labour amongst us."

To this overture Mr. Strong made a reply, October 18, 1773, expressing himself gratified with the overture, but saying:

"I find myself obliged to observe upon a certain Clause in one of the Votes, expressed in a manner uncommon, though perhaps not entirely new. The clause which I mean is this, for and during his Service and Labour among us in the Work of the Gospel ministry. I am not the best skilled in

Contracts of this Nature; yet I think it may be a matter of dispute whether by that vote I am entitled to a support any longer than while I perform all the Service and Labour common to that office. . . . In matters of such importance, contracting Parties cannot too well understand each others' intentions. Many long and unhappy controversies arise from a little obscurity in original agreements.

"A generous Settlement in Hartford will only purchase a Comfortable Habitation. A generous Salary will only maintain a family with decency. . . . Though it is dishonorable in any person and uncommonly so in one who means to devote himself to the Sacred Office, to be anxiously solicitous in matters of this nature, yet I believe it his indispensable duty, in common with all others, to use all prudent means in providing against want and necessity. I cannot think the laws of Christianity will oblige any person to put himself in a Condition that if by the Providence of God he is for a time rendered unable to perform the duties of his Office, he shall have no method to obtain even the necessaries of life at a time when uncommon expenses will arise.

"For this reason I find myself unable to give an answer that will be conclusive either way, until you make it so by your own act. If Gentlemen it is your Intention that I shall yearly receive the Salary mentioned in your Vote, so long as I shall continue minister of this Society, and if you shall by a Vote inserted in your Records with this answer, unanimously manifest this to be your meaning and Intention, I will then accept your proposals, depending on your Candour."

This answer being read in the Society meeting, November 10th, it was "Voted, that the one hundred and thirty pounds voted for Mr. Strong's annual salary is to be paid annually as long as he continues settled in the Gospel ministry in this Society." A clear understanding being thus arrived at, "Messrs George Wyllys Esq, Doct^{r} Solomon Smith, Jno. Lawrence Esq, Capt. George Smith, Jesse Root, and Capt.

James Nickolls" were appointed a committee to carry out "at the cost and charge of the Society" the business of the ordination, which was "Desired to be on the first Wednesday of January next."

Accordingly on January 5, 1774, Mr. Strong was ordained. A contemporaneous account of the matter is preserved [3] in the following words:

"On the 5th instant was inducted into the Pastoral Office in the first and antient Society in this Town, the Rev'd NATHAN STRONG jun. late Tutor in Yale College. The Reverend Council conven'd on the Public Occasion at the House of Capt. *Hugh Ledlie*, from thence walk'd in Procession to the Meeting House, preceded by the Brethren of said Church and the Society Committee; with the former walked Mr. *William Cadwell* in the 90th year of his Age. The religious Services began with an Anthem: the Rev'd *Timothy Pitkin* of Farmington made the first Prayer—the Rev'd *Nathan Strong* of Coventry preached a Sermon suited to the Occasion from those Words in 2 Tim. 4th Chapter and 5th verse, closed the same with a very affectionate Address to his Son and the Church and People of his Charge —the Rev'd *Robert Breck* of Springfield made the Prayer immediately preceding the Charge—the Rev'd *Elnathan Whitman* of this Town gave the Charge—the Rev'd *Hezekiah Bissell* of Windsor made the Prayer immediately succeeding the Charge, and the Rev'd *Eliphalet Williams* of East Hartford gave the Right Hand. A Psalm and an Anthem then closed the whole. Every Part in the Public Exercises was perform'd with great Decency and Solemnity; after which the Reverend Council return'd in Procession as aforesaid to Capt. *Ledlie's* where a generous Entertainment was provided for the Council, all Gentlemen Spectators in the

[3] *Connecticut Courant*, Jan. 11, 1774. The house of Capt. Ledlie, to which reference is made in the *Courant* account of the ordination, was situated where now stands the Allyn House Hotel, and was afterward occupied by Mr. George Goodwin.

Ministry, Candidates for the Ministry and Gentlemen of liberal Education. As the Settlement was unanimous and Promising a becoming Chearfulness and Decency appear'd among all Orders of Persons present on the Occasion."

The sermon thus preached was published at the expense of the Society, and by its vote distributed "One to each person who pays a Rate the present year within this Society."

The new Pastor thus at twenty-five years of age set in office, was born at Coventry, October 16, 1748. He was a descendant in the fourth generation from John Strong, ruling elder of the First Church of Northampton, Mass., who came to New England in 1630 and died in great old age in 1699. His father was Rev. Nathan Strong of Coventry, born in Woodbury, a graduate of Yale College in 1742, in the class with Edward Dorr; ordained pastor of the Second Church in Coventry, October 9, 1745, and died October 19th, 1793, in his sixty-eighth year. His mother was Esther Meacham, daughter of Rev. Joseph Meacham of Coventry, by Esther Williams, daughter of Rev. John Williams of Deerfield, Mass., who with her father was carried captive to Canada, February 29, 1704, and restored November 21, 1706.

Of young Nathan little is recorded previous to his education at college. The sermon preached by his father at his installation indicates that the household instruction brought to bear upon his childhood must have been of a robustly Calvinistic type. "Eternal election, original sin, the imputation of Christ's righteousness, justification by faith alone, the necessity of special grace in conversion, the saint's perseverance in holiness unto eternal life," are declared in that sermon to be "the principal basis and foundation on which the superstructure of our holy religion stands."

It was while still a resident of his father's house and before entering on his college course, that those effectual impressions were made upon his mind to which he used afterwards to refer as the beginning of his spiritual life.

The class at Yale in which he graduated, that of 1769, contained several members destined to distinction, but among them two easily distanced all others. These were Timothy Dwight, afterwards the President, and Nathan Strong. The standing of these two made the question of the chief class honor a delicate question to decide; but it was given to Strong as being the elder, with the understanding that Dwight should have the priority at the taking of the Master's degree.

After his graduation Mr. Strong began the study of law, but as we are told "suddenly changed his purpose" and turned his attention to theology. He was appointed Tutor in Yale College in 1772, occupying the position two years, during which time he was licensed to preach by the New Haven East Association, and made his first essays at pulpit utterance. These were so acceptable that his permanent ministrations were sought by various churches. Among these was the First Church in Hartford, which having applied to President Stiles concerning the Tutor's fitness for the Hartford pastorate, is said to have been told by him that Mr. Strong was "the most universal scholar he ever knew."

Fairly established at Hartford, Mr. Strong on November 20, 1777, married Anne Smith, daughter of Dr. and Dea. Solomon Smith, a young lady of about eighteen years of age.

The period of the institution of the new pastorate was a trying one. The colonial relationships to Great Britain were just on the point of rupture, and the feeble confederacies on this side of the Atlantic were about entering on a pro-

tracted and exhausting war with that then recognizedly chief belligerent power in the world. Divisions of sentiment respecting not only the details of the struggle but the main aim and method of it, divided to some extent every community, and very distinctly that of Connecticut. In this condition of affairs Mr. Strong threw himself with great energy into the conflict for American liberty. He served some time as chaplain to the troops. He wrote and preached in support of the patriotic cause.[4] Especially in the later political discussions connected with the establishment of the Federal Constitution he published a series of about twenty articles intended to harmonize public opinion in the ratification of that instrument. It was not probably at all on account of his ardent advocacy of this cause, but it was certainly appropriately harmonious with it, that the Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States, on the part of Connecticut, was held in the church edifice of this Society in 1788.

As the war progressed, financial difficulties lent their embarrassment to parochial and pastoral relationships, as well as to all other relationships having a monetary aspect. Representations were several times made to the Society by the Pastor concerning the insufficiency of his salary "to

[4] One of his sermons was at the execution of Moses Dunbar: "The Reasons and Design of public Punishment: A SERMON delivered before the People who were Collected at the Execution of MOSES DUNBAR who was condemned for *High Treason* against the State of Connecticut, and executed March 19th A.D. 1777, by Nathan Strong, Pastor of the First Church in Hartford. Printed and sold by Eben. Watson, M.D. CCLXVII." 16mo. The sermon does not give any considerable account of the convict or his crime, but deals with general moral considerations concerning obedience to law and government, and allegiance to rulers. One sentence may be quoted as illustrative of the preacher's vigorous style: "It is known and cannot be secreted that many prefer a sordid gain to the salvation of their country, and would damn an empire to share a penny."

afford him a decent and comfortable support," owing to the depreciated condition of the currency; and attempts, more or less adequate, were made for his redress. It significantly illustrates the pass things had come to in 1779, five years after the Pastor's settlement, that at that date the Society voted, in addition to the one hundred and thirty pounds promised Mr. Strong at his coming, the sum of three thousand seven hundred and seventy pounds, to make up the current year's deficiency.[5]

At the same time with these financial embarrasments of the Society, the condition of the Church, and of the churches generally, was very low.

The half-way-covenant sowing was producing its natural harvest. There were only fifteen male members in full communion in this Church when Mr. Strong was set in pastoral charge. As the public conflict progressed, a tide of infidelity set in under the sympathetic influence of French associations in the war of Independence, and religion became, to

[5] This seems to have been the worst point of the depreciation so far as appears on the Society records. Up to this time the "Settlement" provision for Mr. Strong, in distinction from his annual salary, had been only partly paid. In 1780 a vote was passed granting "three hundred Pounds in Lawful Silver money, computing Spanish milled Dollars at six Shillings each . . . . for the purpose of paying Rev. Nathan Strong in part of what this Society are in arrears to him for his Settlement and his Annual Salary." "Distress warrants" were issued against sundry delinquent rate-payers through all these years. The story is that this Society, brought face to face with the accumulated arrearages due the Pastor, was rather reluctant to settle the debt; but its members were addressed in Society-meeting by Judge Oliver Ellsworth: "Gentlemen, we owe this money honestly and must not refuse to pay it." When matters settled down, after the war was over, additions of twenty or fifty pounds were occasionally voted to the Pastor's salary. In 1797 and afterwards, dollars and pounds appear side by side on the records till 1803, when it is voted that "Eighty Pounds (or Two Hundred Sixty Six Dollars & $\frac{67}{100}$) be granted Rev. Nathan Strong in addition to his stipulated Salary." From 1797 to 1803, the salary was $600. In 1809 the vote is that "Seven hundred Dollars shall be the Salary of Rev. Nathan Strong annually;" to which from 1812 onward, an annual addition of $150 was regularly voted.

an extent unknown before or since in this land, a matter for gibe and contempt.

Family afflictions too, shadowed this portion of the Pastor's history with unusual gloom. His young wife, Anne Smith, died less than seven years after their marriage, on October 17, 1784, leaving two young children behind her.[6]

Married again, June 20, 1787, to Anna McCurdy of Lyme, he was again made desolate, by her death, March 22, 1789. She left with him an infant child.[7] For the remaining twenty-six years of his life Mr. Strong continued a widower.

Meantime the earlier period of Mr. Strong's ministry cannot be said to have been marked by tokens of spiritual vigor. Perhaps this was in the nature of events impossible. It may be however that Mr. Strong was lacking in some of those deeper convictions which distinguished and made so powerful his later ministry. It serves perhaps to corroborate this impression, to know that in a considerable part of

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[6] Dr. Strong's children by Anne Smith were:

1. Anne Smith Strong, born Sept. 10, 1778; married Rev. David L. Perry of Sharon. She died Oct., 1840. Mr. Perry was born June 21, 1777; grad. Yale College 1997; ord. at Sharon, June 6, 1804; died Oct. 25, 1835.
2. Nathan Strong, M.D., born Aug. 12, 1871; grad. at Williams College 1802; studied theology and preached a short time; became a physician; married Frances Butler; settled in Hartford and died Aug. 2, 1837. Nathan Strong, M.D., by his wife Frances Butler (died July 7, 1849), had three children:

i. Frances Anne, born Feb. 11, 1814; died April 8, 1853. Well remembered yet as the Principal of Hartford Female Seminary.

ii. Sarah Butler married, 1836, J. C. Donnell. She died Aug. 20, 1860.

iii. Nathan, born about 1822; grad. at Trinity College; died in 1863 or '64.

[7] John McCurdy Strong, born Aug. 12, 1788; grad. at Yale 1806; drowned while attempting to cross the river at the ferry on Sept. 16, 1806. The young man on his return from a journey to Norwich rode his horse aboard the ferry-boat, and in the horse's fright in the stream went over the boat's side and was drowned. The funeral was attended the following day at the Second Church, Dr. Flint preaching the sermon from *Matt.* xxiv, 44 (published by Lincoln & Gleason, Hartford) and Dr. Perkins offering the prayer. See *Courant*, Sept. 24, 1806.

this portion of his life, Mr. Strong was engaged extensively in the distillery business, with his brother-in-law, Mr. Reuben Smith. The records of Hartford land transfers show some twenty deeds of real estate involving thirty or forty thousand dollars worth of property, bought and sold by the partnership of "Reuben Smith & Co."—Nathan Strong's name however generally taking the priority in the deeds made to or by the partners—between 1790 and 1796, together with their vats, stills, and cooper-shops, in the prosecution of this enterprise.[8] The venture, into which Mr. Strong is said to have put the patrimony derived from his father's estate, was ultimately unfortunate from a pecuniary point of view, and in October 1798 writs of attachments were levied against the property, and in default of that, against the bodies of Messrs. Strong & Smith, on judgment against them. Mr. Smith prudently took himself to New York. Mr. Strong remained in the house he had built—the house just south of the Athenæum—which was attached under the sheriff's warrant.[9] It is said that the sheriff proposed to take Mr. Strong to jail, but relented when told that he "would go with him if compelled, but if he went he would never enter the pulpit again."[10]

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[8] The purchase of the properties for the distillery business began in 1790. The chief sales of them were made in July, 1796. On the 25th of that month the distillery property of the two partners, on the East Creek, bounded west by Front Street and north by land of D. Goodwin, with stills, vats, cooper-shops, etc., was disposed of to Benj. G. Minturn and John Champlin, for $10,500; and nine other pieces of property to various parties to the amount of $21,706.

[9] Two writs in favor of Timothy Phelps of New Haven, for recovery of judgment, granted July 1798, to the amount of a little over $1,100 each, were thus at this time served; and execution returned on the land and house of Nathan Strong, Oct. 1, 1798. Two writs in recovery of judgment in favor of Malcom McEwen—respectively for £117 14*s.* 7*d.*, and £125 12*s.* 3*d.*—had been previously (Sept. 17, 1796) satisfied out of Mr. Strong's personal property.

[10] One of Mr. Strong's characteristic sharp sayings was in connection with this distillery business. Some one had suggested in an Association meeting

Whether the business distress which began to press upon Mr. Strong several years before this culminating incident of his disaster, had any causal connection with an altered tone in his ministry and a revived condition of things in his Church, it is perhaps presumptuous to assert. But certain it is that the year 1794, at which time the distillery business had broken down and the sale of effects appertaining to it had begun, witnessed the first indication of the spiritual awakening of his flock. One token of this quickened religious interest remains in a vote of the Society, December 16, 1794, "to light the meeting-house for evening lectures;" this being probably the first time religious meetings were ever held in any public building belonging to this Society in the evening.

Mr. Strong's friend, Rev. Thomas Robbins of East Windsor, says that previous to 1794 "there had been frequent instances of individual subjects of divine grace, but no general attention among his people."[11] But certainly from about this point, the history of this pastorate is one of the most illustrious in this Church's annals. No one before this time could have questioned the Pastor's great abilities; no one after this time could have doubted his sincere and increasing consecration to the Christian service.

A man of indefatigable industry, of great acquirements, of ready and fertile faculties, of strong and penetrating intellect and of cogent and commanding address, he gave henceforth the utmost resources of his mind and heart to his Lord's work.

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that it was hardly the thing for the Pastor of the Hartford Church to be engaged in the manufacture and sale of liquor. "O," said Mr. Strong, "we are all in one boat in the business. Brother Perkins raises the grain, I distil it, and Brother Flint drinks it."

[11] Biographic Notice, *Connecticut Courant*, Dec. 31, 1816.

This devotion had its appropriate recompense. Following the revival of 1794, another much more powerful occurred in 1798 and 1799, which wrought a great and lasting change in the religious condition of the congregation and the community. In connection with this religious movement and as promotive of its aims, Mr. Strong published two volumes of sermons, one in 1798 and the other in 1800;[12] the first especially fitted to the awakening, the second to the development and confirmation of evangelic piety. They are sermons full of vigorous thought and utterance, and generally simple and direct in aim. No one can read them and wonder that they powerfully impressed their hearers. They were, perhaps, the immediate occasion of the conferring on their author of the degree of Doctor in Divinity by the College of New Jersey in 1801.

As a sample of their robust and unstudied style a specimen may be quoted here from the "improvement" of the sermon entitled: *On the different conditions of men in the present and future world.* Luke xvi, 25:

"This subject shows the vast alteration there may be in the condition of persons in the present and in the future world. We are very liable to form an opinion of the perpetual condition of men, from their present state. If they are affluent, great and happy here, we are apt to suppose that this will always be their condition. Such worldly distinctions have a great impression on the mind; and if these persons do not appear publicly on the side of piety, many seem to think that religion is of little consequence, and that we can be truly safe and respectable without it. By things remaining as they were, they think it will always be thus. But with a multitude

[12] "Sermons on Various Subjects, Doctrinal, Experimental and Practical, by Nathan Strong, Pastor of the North Presbyterian Church in Hartford, Connecticut." Vol. i, Hartford, Hudson and Goodwin, 1798. Vol. ii, Hartford, Printed by John Babcock for Oliver D. and I. Cooke, 1800.

of men, there will be an amazing and an awful change. From boundless wealth, and all the means of a gay and amusing life, they will go empty-handed, naked and friendless into the eternal world; and there without a comforter meet the justice of a long-suffering and abused Judge. From power and office and influence, which they supposed to be their own exclusively, and on which they depended for protection, they they will go defenceless to a state of woe. It is difficult, for those who possess these earthly advantages, to conceive that they shall sink to such ruin and fall far below those whom they now despise. But if the word of God is to be credited there will in very many cases be this change. God seeth not as man seeth, and he judgeth not on the principles of human pride. He is not resisted in his way, nor can the present influence of men change the course of his power. He is as much the creator, proprietor and judge of the rich and powerful man, as he is of the poor and of the weak. He is as much the father of one as he is of the other. The interests of each are equally dear in his sight—and with Him there is no partiality on account of earthly advantages. Those who have the fewest advantages and have made the best use of them, may still say, we are unprofitable servants; and those who have made an improper use, deserve to be cast down as a punishment for their misimprovement.

O, Reader, thou wilt be strangely surprised, on entering the invisible world, to see how the comparative conditions of men are altered from what they now are. Many a Lazarus; many afflicted, distressed ones; many who were friendless upon earth; who were despised and communed only with God and Christ; who wished to retire from the show and temptation of the world, lest they should be ensnared; whose pleasures were in reading the word of God, and in their closets, and in administering to the necessities of those who were poor and unobserved in life like themselves; many such thou wilt find in the place of angels — in the company of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. How many such thou wilt find purified by the blood of Christ and sanctified by his Spirit, so

as to be without spot or stain in the presence of the Lord! His servants, his messengers, his ministers and his honored ones in the kingdom of glory! On earth they received evil things, but in heaven they are comforted—they have become kings and priests unto the Lord, and pillars in his everlasting temple! Such will be the fruit of the redeeming blood of Jesus, and he will see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied with the glory that is given to the members of his spiritual body. The higher they are raised from the low and despised condition they had here on earth, the more the riches, the fullness and the sovereignty of his grace will be forever adored.

As some will be thus purified and confessed and exalted forever in the presence of the Father and before his holy angels; so how awfully will many sink from the highest advantages of earth to the lowest place in the pains of eternity! How many who carried with them a great breadth of influence in the concerns of this life; who had the adjustment of other men's properties according to their will, their prejudices and their own selfish designs; who made laws for their fellow-creatures according to the feelings of their own passions, without regard to mercy and equity; who judged and executed with much worldly solemnity and importance, but not in the fear of the Almighty, and with hearts of compassion; who were filled with the profusion of the world and walked through life in the pride of self-consequence and in the parade which gratifies a vain heart; who in these circumstances forgot that they were sinners, were made of the same clay, must go to the same grave, must stand on the same level with their meaner neighbors before the glorious bar of God; how many such, from every land and from every age of the world, will say: 'Father Abraham, send one of those who are now in thy bosom, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue!'" *Vol. ii, pp.* 346–349.

No man more than Dr. Strong contributed to the revival of earnest piety which marked so extensively the close of the last century and the beginning of the present in this State.

But Dr. Strong's energies overflowed the bounds of his pulpit and parish work, and found other channels of expression. In 1796 he published an elaborate treatise entitled *The Doctrine of Eternal Misery reconcilable with the Infinite Benevolence of God.*[13] This was occasioned by the posthumous publication of a volume entitled *Calvinism Improved,*[14] written by Rev. Dr. Joseph Huntington of Coventry, the town of Dr. Strong's birth, and which advocated the doctrine of universal salvation. The volume of Dr. Strong, intended primarily as a reply to Dr. Huntington's, is much more than that. It discusses the main points of the Calvinistic system, and is the most extended theological endeavor essayed by him; and in relation to the special object the author had in view, ranks among the ablest treatises extant upon the profound and awful subject with which it deals.

In 1799, moved by the impulse of desire for a class of hymns better adapted to the "happy revival of religion" which characterized the period, Dr. Strong published—in connection with Rev. Abel Flint and Rev. Joseph Steward, a Deacon of the First Church—a hymn-book known as *The*

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[13] "The Doctrine of Eternal Misery reconcilable with the Infinite Benevolence of God, and a Truth plainly asserted in the Christian Scriptures, by Nathan Strong, Pastor of the North Presbyterian Church in Hartford. Hartford, Printed by Hudson & Goodwin, 1796." 8vo, pp. i–xii, 1–408.

[14] "Calvinism Improved, or the Gospel illustrated as a System of Real Grace issuing in the Salvation of all Men," 1796.

This volume of Dr. Huntington took the world of his day with surprise as he was not known to cherish the sentiments inculcated in it. Much the greater part of the edition is said to have been burned by one of his daughters. The general position of the writer is that the Atonement of Christ is commensurate, not only in its design, but in its actual practical efficiency, with the sins of all men. Dr. Joseph Huntington was born in Windham in 1735; graduated at Yale College in 1762; ordained at the First Church in Coventry, June 29, 1763; died Dec. 25, 1794. One of Dr. Huntington's daughters was the wife of Rev. Dr. E. D. Griffin. One of his sons, Samuel, was Chief Justice and Governor of Ohio, and died in 1817.

Hartford Selection of Hymns.[15] The book attained a wide circulation and passed through many editions. Presumably it must have been used in Dr. Strong's own congregation; but it is in evidence that as early as 1812 the compilation made at the request of the General Association of Connecticut by President Dwight, in 1800, was employed in this Society. Of the *Hartford Selection* however, a competent witness declares in 1833, "It has been printed in greater numbers, has been diffused more extensively, and has imparted more alarm to the sinner, and more consolation to the saint, than any other compilation of religious odes in this country, during a period of nearly thirty years." [16]

Still more important to this Church's welfare and to the welfare of the churches generally, was Dr. Strong's agency in behalf of Missions. At a meeting of the Hartford North Association at Farmington, Oct. 3, 1797, the ministers present [17] voted as follows:

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[15] "The Hartford Selection of Hymns. From the most approved authors. To which are added a number never before published. Compiled by Nathan Strong, Abel Flint, and Joseph Steward. Hartford: Printed by John Babcock, 1799." The eighth edition was published in 1821.

[16] Rev. Luther Hart in *Quarterly Spectator*, Sept., 1833, pp. 344–345. The *Hartford Selection* contained several of Dr. Strong's own hymns, among which the one hundred and seventieth was pronounced by the writer last quoted "one of the most interesting metrical compositions in our language;" a judgment with which even an ardent admirer of Dr. Strong's abilities may be pardoned if he cannot agree. Two stanzas must suffice:

"Sinner behold I've heard thy groan,
I know thy heart, thy life I've known:
I've seen thy hope from grace proclaim'd,
Thy trembling fear when Sinai flam'd.

To me the mighty God attend,
In me behold the sinner's friend;
'Twas I who gave thy conscience voice,
Thou hast oppos'd by sinful choice."

[17] Nathan Strong, Aaron Church, Rufus Hawley, Seth Sage, Nathan Perkins, Abel Flint, Wm. F. Miller, Whitefield Cowles, Isaac Porter, and Joseph Washburn.

"We resolve ourselves into a Missionary Society for the purpose of collecting funds from the pious and benevolently disposed, to support missionaries who may carry the glad tidings of salvation among our brethren in the borders of the wilderness. An ardent wish to diffuse the knowledge of Christian doctrines and Christian morals as far as may be in our power, impels us to adopt this as a temporary expedient, till some more general plan may be formed, either by the general Association or in some other way. One inducement besides the general desire to advance the cause of our divine Redeemer and the present aspect of Providence in Zion, is that we have a missionary [18] now in the Western settlements, acting under our direction for whose support competent funds are not provided. We hold ourselves ready to coalesce with a more general society for Missions, whenever any shall be formed in this State."

By the next October, 1798, the General Association having organized the Missionary Society of Connecticut, the Hartford North Association voted to "cease to continue as a missionary society and joyfully join the general society."

Dr. Strong had been one of the committee of the General Association to draft its Constitution, and was one of its Directors, and a life-long supporter of its work.

It was largely his interest in this Society and the Missions supported by it, that induced him to project and largely to edit the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*. Rev. Luther Hart, who was in a position to know the facts in the case, says: [19]

"The plan of this work originated with Dr. Strong, and the labor of conducting it devolved chiefly on him. It was continued fifteen years, and amounted to as many volumes.

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[18] Probably Rev. Seth Williston, who had been ordained by the Association, June 6, 1797, "to the work of the evangelical ministry at large .... in order that he might be more extensively useful in the new settlements."

[19] *Quarterly Spectator*, Sept., 1833, pp. 345–347.

During the first seven years some ten or twelve of the principal divines in different parts of the State were associated with him in the editorial department; but the duty of procuring and revising the matter to be inserted was performed principally by himself. After the commencement of the new series, which, though the same work still, was called "the Evangelical Magazine and Religious Intelligencer," and extended to eight volumes, he had no regular editorial assistance, except during the last three years. . . . . The number of copies printed during the first five years averaged 3,730 annually. All the net proceeds of the magazine were sacredly devoted to the permanent fund of the Connecticut Missionary Society. In six years there had been paid into the Treasury $7,353. And although the number of subscribers constantly diminished from the year 1806, yet the total avails paid over to the Society amounted to 11,520 dollars."

Under the impulse of this powerful ministry, attended as it was by large accessions to the membership of the Church, this First Ecclesiastical Society felt moved, in 1802, to subscribe toward a permanent "Fund for Parochial uses," on the following conditions:

"First, the sum of Fifteen Hundred dollars at least to be raised by gratuitous subscriptions and added to the present Society Fund.

"Second, the Fund, principal and interest as it accrues, to be placed from time to time on Loan without any part being expended till it amounts to Seven Thousand Dollars; that sum to be afterwards kept entire as a Society Fund, the interest thereof to be appropriated and applied for the Support of the Ministry in the Society."

The subscription prospered. Forty-seven hundred and nine dollars were pledged, and the Society voted that "the names of the subscribers and the sums respectively annexed, be recorded at length in the records of the Society." [20] This

[20] See *Appendix XI.*

fund met with the not unusual fate of funds when a Society gets short of money and most of the donors are dead, as there will be occasion hereafter to see.

Encouraged by success in establishing the fund for the support of the ministry, the Society set about the undertaking of a new meeting-house. The old house, dedicated in 1739, had become scanty and dilapidated. A committee appointed to consider the subject, Dec. 11, 1804, reported, March 22, 1805, and the Society voted at that date—

"That a new Meeting-House be built for this Society at such place as the County Court shall affix, on or near the ground on which the present meeting-house stands, provided the moneys for building the same can be raised by donation and by the sale of Pews and Slips, and that George Goodwin, Abram Cook, Richard Goodman, Peter W. Gallaudet & James Hosmer, be a Committee to build said meeting house: that the dimensions thereof including the Projection for the Steeple or Tower, be one hundred and two feet by sixty-four feet: that the walls be of Brick and the Roof covered with Slate . . . . But said Committee are instructed not to dispose of the present meeting-house nor proceed to build such new Meeting-House, until they have raised by donation and sale of Pews and Slips a sum sufficient to build such meeting house."

Thus charged with their duty, the Committee set about the work. They had Mr. P. W. Gallaudet as their Treasurer and Accountant, and opened a subscription, which reached $17,302.13. These subscriptions were to reckon against the price of pews when pews came to be sold. The Committee sold the old meeting-house to John Leffingwell, on Dec. 2, 1805, for three hundred and five dollars, "all the brick and stone, Bell and rope, and Clock and clock-weights excepted,[21]

[21] The bell and clock were temporarily placed in the tower of the Episcopal Church.

. . the new timber put in to secure the building also excepted;" and the destruction of the old house at once began.[22] Contracts for brick and stone and timber and other building material were made in the fall and winter, and Thursday, March 6, 1806, the stone work of the foundation of the new house was begun.

The enlarged size and the partially altered position of the new structure demanded a grant from the town of a part of the burying-ground; which was secured by an exchange of deeds conveying to the town a part of the ground formerly covered by the previous edifice.[23] That edifice had undoubtedly been built over some of the graves in the old burying-ground purchased by the town in 1640, and more were covered by the new structure, necessitating the removal of some monuments.[24]

The work progressed with vigor, and with some alcoholic aid[25] after the fashion of the times, and the month of December, 1807, saw the congregation ready to remove from the

[22] At the Celebration Exercises of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Church, Dea. Rowland Swift said (referring to Mr. Edward Goodwin and this destruction of the old meeting-house): "There is one of our present congregation who remembers some incidents of that occasion—now almost four score years past. The leave-taking of the old pew, fixed in his child-memory by the sober and reluctant manner of those who led him home from the last service there; the rescue of the little old foot-rest or cricket which for preservation he brought away in his arms—a rather burthensome trophy to the tiny boy; the fall of the steeple on the following day; the suspense that awed him so when the long ropes were manned and while they straightened with the strong and steady pull; the strange and startling shimmer of light upon the old weather-cock which swayed crazily once or twice as the shout of them that triumphed arose, and then pitched forward and zig-zag on its flight to the further side of the street." Mr. Goodwin attended the exercises of the celebration on Oct. 11 and 12, 1883; but died on the 25th of the same month.

[23] *Town Records*, vol. xxii, pp. 359–362.

[24] The graves must have come well out toward the present Main Street. In excavating in 1883 to admit water to the motor of the organ, human remains were found opposite the southeast corner of the edifice, near the portico.

[25] The payments for liquor amount to about $150.

theatre in Theatre Street (now Temple), where they had worshiped in the interim between the two meeting-houses; and on the 3d of December the house was dedicated. A contemporaneous account of the event says:[26]

"On Thursday last the New Meeting-House in the North Society in this city was dedicated. The beauty of the day, the Novelty of the occasion and the celebrity of the preacher attracted a great concourse of people from this and the neighboring towns. . . . . Several hymns composed for the occasion were sung, and followed by an Anthem of Handels. The singing, under the direction of Mr. Roberts, animated the Christian and delighted those who are charmed with the melody of sounds."

Rev. Mr. Flint, of the Second Church, offered the Introductory Prayer; Rev. Dr. Perkins, of West Hartford, the Concluding Prayer; Dr. Strong made the Prayer of Dedication, and preached the Sermon from Ps. xciii, 5: *Holiness becometh thine house, O Lord, forever.* The sermon was published.[27]

The house thus completed and dedicated had square pews round the walls, both on the floor and in the galleries; slips in the centre of the house below, and in front of the galleries above. Two pews below, one on either side, were furnished with ornamental canopies, and dignified as the "Governor's Pews," the canopies remaining until 1831. The pulpit, the height of which is said to have been determined by Dr. Strong, was supported by fluted columns, and ascended by spiral stairs.

A very handsome pulpit Bible with heavy gold clasps and corners was presented to the Society in April 1812, by Mr.

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[26] *Connecticut Courant*, Dec. 9, 1807.

[27] "A Sermon delivered at the Consecration of the New Brick Meeting House in Hartford, December 3, 1807, by Nathan Strong. Hartford: Printed by Hudson and Goodwin, 1808."

Reuben Smith—Dr. Strong's brother-in-law and former business partner—in memory of Dr. Solomon Smith, once Deacon of this Church. This Bible has been ever since in use. Some vandal stole the gold corners and clasps, and silver ones were substituted. But these, too, were removed, because too bulky.[28]

No artificial warmth, save the traditional "foot-stoves" of our New England grandmothers, tempered the rigor of the winter services until 1815, when stoves were authorized by vote of the Society.

The responsibility and expenses of the new meeting-house were laid on the building committee, aided by the sales and rentals of pews to members of the congregation. The disposal of the sittings had been as satisfactory as could have been anticipated,[29] but the cost of the building, $32,014.26, exceeded the amount realized from the sales by about $4,291. The committee had for their security certain unsold pews and slips on the floor and in the gallery, from the rental of which they offset, as far as they could, their debt to the Hartford Bank and to individuals. The amount of their deficiency was gradually decreased by additional sales; but though the personal claims of the committee for services were adjusted in 1812, their chief obligation to the bank, though often discussed, was rather ungenerously postponed till December 1815, when the Society voted to "assume the debt of $2,000

[28] Mr. Charles Seymour recalls the fact of seeing written on the gallery wall of the meeting-house, this inscription: "John Ellsworth, *debtor* to the First Ecclesiastical Society for gold corners and clasps of Pulpit Bible, $100;" which inscription not obscurely intimated that the then acting Sexton of the church was not altogether unaware where the Bible fastenings and ornaments went to.

[29] See Appendix XII for statement of sales and rentals to March 27, 1809, with ground plan of the church edifice, copied from a parchment one, of apparently contemporaneous date.

at the Hartford Bank," on condition of receiving a surrender from the committee of the slips and pews standing in their names.[80]

Entered into its new house of worship, which was regarded as a rather splendid specimen of ecclesiastical architecture—and so described by President Dwight in his *Travels*[81]—the Church was still graciously favored with Divine influences.

In 1808, and again shortly before Dr. Strong's death, from 1813 to 1815, powerful awakenings in his congregation bore witness to the efficacy of the truth so cogently and persuasively preached by him. Eighty-eight persons united with the Church in 1808, the year after entering into the new meeting-house; and one hundred and twenty-eight joined as the result of the revival of 1813–14. It is pleasant to know, especially in view of Dr. Strong's age at this last-mentioned period, that the subjects of the awakening at that time were mostly quite young people, and some of them children, and that Dr. Strong confided in the reality of their Christian experience, and advocated their admission to the Church against the objections of some of the members, who were unused to so youthful candidates.

These revival meetings of the early part of the century, seemed to demand a form of religious services and a place of religious gathering, such as the Sunday or occasional week-day evening services in the somewhat stately church-edifice, lately occasionally opened, could not supply.

Evening meetings at private houses were first resorted to, with some suspicion and objection on the part of some conservative people, but these did not supply the rising need.

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[80] Some account of the subsequent sale of a part of these seats may be found in the latter portion of Appendix XII.

[81] Vol. i, pp. 235–6.

Individuals undertook what the Society at this time would hardly have agreed upon. Mr. Colton—shortly after Deacon Colton—offered the corner of his lot, a little back from Temple Street, for a Conference building. A memorandum of agreement about laying the foundations, dated June 20, 1813, remains; endorsed March 22, 1814, by a certification over the hands of Josiah Beckwith, David Knox, and Andrew Kingsbury, that "the Conference meeting House was built conformable to the above agreement." The edifice was formally transferred to the Society in 1815. But doubtless from some time in early 1814, the social meetings of the revival epoch used to be held there. And the place was then, and in the days of a minister to come after Dr. Strong, a memorable one for the souls spiritually "born there." The old building, turned to servile uses and forgotten by the present generation, still stands, though somewhat changed in shape and built about by other structures.

It is greatly to be regretted that the perishing, or more probably the non-creation of any Church records—except a few memoranda by Mr. Barzillai Hudson, long a member of the Prudential Committee—during the entire period of Dr. Strong's ministry, makes it impossible to trace precisely who they were, or in what numbers, who united with the Church at any epoch of this pastorate previous to 1808. Especially to be regretted is it, that it is impossible accurately to discover the working of the revival spirit upon the half-way-covenant system in this Church which had practiced it so long.

It is doubtful if that system was ever distinctly abrogated in Dr. Strong's day. The late Thomas S. Williams and wife both owned the covenant, it is believed in his time, and only

made such a profession as brought them into the Church's full communion in 1834, in the days of his successor.

Throughout most of this pastorate the Church was popularly known as Presbyterian. The Pastor called himself, as has been observed on the title pages of his published sermons, "Pastor of the North Presbyterian Church." Presbyterians in the Middle States and Connecticut Congregationalists had been drawn together ever since 1766[32] by their common opposition to the establishment of the Episcopate; and this union of feeling had been strengthened by the events of the war, and the Tory attitude of the Episcopal churches. The Presbyterian Assembly and the Connecticut Association exchanged delegates; members passed freely from one fellowship to the other at a period when the North Association in Hartford could "unanimously" resolve[33] that it was "not consistent to dismiss and recommend the members of our churches to the Methodists;" and in the mind of the general public, and even in that of most of the ministers, there was no difference between Congregationalism and Presbyterianism.

This idea found official utterance in the action of Hartford North Association, February 5, 1799:—

"This Association gives information to all whom it may concern, that the Constitution of the Churches in the State of Connecticut, founded on the common usage, and the confession of faith, heads of agreement, and articles of church discipline, adopted at the earliest period of the Settlement of this State, is not Congregational, but contains the essentials of the church of Scotland, or Presbyterian Church in America, particularly, as it gives a decisive power to Ecclesiastical Councils; and a Consociation consisting of Ministers

[32] See *ante*, p. 324.

[33] Oct. 17, 1800. *MSS. records.*

and Messengers or a lay representation from the churches is possessed of substantially the same authority as a Presbytery. The judgements, decisions and censures in our Churches and in the Presbyterian are mutually deemed valid. The Churches therefore, of Connecticut at large and in our districts in particular, are not now and never were from the earliest period of our settlement, Congregational Churches, according to the ideas and forms of Church order contained in the book of discipline called the Cambridge Platform; there are, however, Scattered over the State, perhaps ten or twelve Churches which are properly called Congregational, agreeable to the rules of Church discipline in the book above mentioned. Sometimes indeed the associated churches of Connecticut are loosely and vaguely, tho improperly, termed Congregational." [84]

When fifteen ministers in an Association like Hartford North, present at this action, could so misstate history and forget the principles of the first founders, one ceases to wonder that the people generally were not disturbed at being called Presbyterians, or set a wondering when their Pastors put on the title pages of their publications, "Pastor of the Presbyterian Church" of Hartford or Windsor. One may wonder, however, what Thomas Hooker would have said to this implication of his successor, that Presbyterianism was the form of polity he came to this new country to plant; and to this amazing statement that the Constitution founded on the "heads of agreement and articles of church discipline" was adopted "at the earliest period of the Settlement of the State." Whatever the merits or demerits of the Saybrook system, such a declaration of its antiquity takes one with surprise.

One characteristic of Dr. Strong, by which he was eminently distinguished, cannot be passed over unspoken of—his

[84] *MSS. Records.*

wit. Dr. Strong's pulpit exercises were invariably marked by great solemnity and reverence. His many printed efforts contain no indication of humor. But in social intercourse he was a man of boundless pleasantry. One of the most admiring of his eulogists says of him: "It was difficult for him to subdue his almost irresistible propensity to disburthen his prolific imagination of the ideas, whether delicate or grotesque, which rushed upon him with the rapidity of lightning. After leading in prayer in the presence of the Legislature of the State, or the Municipal Courts, and bringing tears from many an eye by the solemnity and fervor of his manner, it was well if in his way out of the house, he did not by some sally of wit, either ludicrous or severe, occasion a burst of laughter on every side." [35] The old and often applied remark, "When he is in the pulpit he ought never to come out, and when he is out he never ought to go in," was frequently made respecting him. Two or three of the stories, out of many lodged in the minds of the older inhabitants of Hartford, may here be recorded.

Shortly after Dr. Strong's reception of his Doctorate degree from the College of New Jersey in 1801, he met Rev. Mr. Flint of the Second Church. Mr. Flint espying him from quite a distance, took off his hat and with considerable demonstration of reverence said "Good morning, *Doctor* Strong." Dr. Strong responded, a little embarrassed, "Why yes, brother Flint, the New Jersey College seems to have done a rather foolish thing." "O never mind it," said Mr. Flint, "I observe they make Doctors of almost everything now-a-days." "Of everything but *Flint*-stones," was Dr. Strong's rejoinder.

Hon. David Daggett was attending Court in Hartford, and

[35] Rev. Luther Hart, *Quarterly Spectator, Sept.* 1833.

going one Saturday afternoon into Hudson and Goodwin's book-store, found Dr. Strong there. "Well, Doctor," he said, "I think I shall go over to East Hartford and hear Mr. Yates to-morrow; we can't expect much from you, away from your study on Saturday afternoon." "Do, Sir, do," was Dr. Strong's reply. "I am going to preach to *Christians* to-morrow."

Dr. Bellamy, the very distinguished but somewhat pompous divine of Bethlem, and very much Dr. Strong's senior in years, called upon him in Hartford. On the Pastor's appearing in answer to the knock, Dr. Bellamy, glancing into the apartment, said, "Ah, here you are, brother Strong, all swept and garnished." "Yes, yes," replied Strong, "quite ready for evil spirits to enter; walk in Dr. Bellamy."

Col. Dyer of Windham, who had been Judge for some years, had been dropped from office by the legislature. Standing in the lobby with several other out-of-office associates, he accosted Dr. Strong as the latter came out from having offered prayer at the opening of the session, "Can't you pray for us, too, Doctor?" "I never pray for the dead," answered Dr. Strong.

Dr. Strong on one occasion had a callow young minister to preach for him, intending that he should do so both parts of the day. But sitting in his room a little before the afternoon service, he saw a good many of his dissatisfied congregation passing by his house on their way, obviously, to the Second Church. The annoyed doctor said to his youthful helper, "My dear brother, I do wish Brother Flint's congregation could hear that sermon you preached for my people to-day; and, late as it is, I think it can be done." Despatching a messenger to Dr. Flint, he secured a prompt invitation for a

repetition of the morning discourse to the South congregation; and Dr. Strong conducted his own service with an inward enjoyment of having paid the runaway hearers of his flock in a proper coin.

But though Dr. Strong's power of repartee made him a formidable opponent, he was a man of most tender sensibilities. When his boy's body was brought to his house from the river, late in the evening of the day on which his son was drowned, the bereaved father with marvelous self-command met the crowd gathered about his door and made them a most affecting address. But his friend, Rev. Thomas Robbins, says he "never crossed the Connecticut River after the event;" and that "years subsequently" he enquired about the bridge and causeway—which had been built soon after his son's fatal calamity—saying to Mr. Robbins that "he had never seen them."

On the approach of the last considerable revival in his ministry, Mr. Robbins says, when "he became satisfied that the Holy Spirit was in the midst of his congregation, his mind was so much agitated with alternate hopes and fears for a fortnight, that he did not—as he stated to a friend—have an hour of uninterrupted sleep at a time."

Dr. Strong was a man of great but rather unmethodical industry. He rose early, and always had some pressing work on hand. His faculties were in a wonderful degree at command. He wrote with great rapidity, seldom revising anything; somewhat carelessly as to style, but always with vigor. He is said, even in his last four or five years, to have preached more sermons in the time, than any other minister in the State.[36]

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[36] Besides the publications which have been spoken of in the foregoing pages, Dr. Strong published a *Sermon at the execution of Richard Doane*, June 10,

But the time for the termination of this splendid pastorate drew on. At a meeting of the Society, held April 17, 1816 —"opened with a devout and solemn prayer by Revd. Joseph Steward"—the Society's committee presented a letter which they had on the 10th of the month addressed to Dr. Strong, suggesting the procuring for him "an assistant" in the ministry, and Dr. Strong's reply thereto. Dr. Strong's answer is dated April 11th. He says:

"It was with pleasure unfeigned that I received your letter of the 10th on the subject of a colleague Pastor. . . . . With respect to bringing the object proposed into execution I would suggest the following things.

"1. That a permanent provision be made for the wants of my old age and the decent support of a family the short time I can live. If I were not perfectly poor this would not be the first article mentioned.[37]

"2. I should wish the Colleague to be the presiding, managing and officiating Pastor. . . . .

"3. With respect to the person for the Colleague I wish to excuse myself from all advice and agency. . . . .

"Gentlemen, I thank you for your communication to me, and unite my prayers with yours for the blessing of God on this transaction."

1797; a *Fast Sermon*, April 6, 1798; a *Thanksgiving Sermon*, Nov. 29, 1798; a *Discourse on the death of George Washington*, delivered Dec. 27, 1799; a *Thanksgiving Sermon*, Nov. 27, 1800; a *Sermon at the Funeral of Rev. James Cogswell, D.D.*, Jan. 6, 1807; a *Sermon before the Female Beneficent Society*, Oct. 4, 1809; a *Sermon on the Mutability of Human Life*, March 10, 1811; a *Fast Sermon*, July 23, 1812; a *Sermon on the use of Time*, Jan. 10, 1813; a *Sermon at the Funeral of Hon. Chauncey Goodrich*, who died Aug. 18, 1815; and a *Sermon*—the last published in his lifetime—preached Jan. 7, 1816, the year he died. The text is, "*Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might, for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave, whither thou goest.*" Thirty-four members of his congregation had died the previous year.

[37] This statement of Dr. Strong was literally accurate. The administrators of his estate (he left no will) after paying a few debts to the amount of about a hundred dollars, returned to the Court, July 28, 1818, the valuation of the property left by him, as $48.60.

Somehow or other the rumor got currency that this action of the committee was unwelcome to Dr. Strong, and on the 16th of April they addressed him a second letter, mentioning the rumor and asking a frank reply. Dr. Strong answered the next day. He said :

"Gentlemen, To your note of yesterday I cheerfully reply. You are sensible that the subject under consideration did not originate from any influence of mine either directly or indirectly; on which account it seems more necessary I should answer you explicitly. I have heard it suggested that I rather tacitly submitted than heartily approved the measure. This is totally a misapprehension. If it can be effected with brotherly love it will give me great satisfaction."

The Doctor then went on to suggest the expediency of going about the undertaking at once, while their pastor was still able to labor, in view of the fact that "the state of a people left destitute is always hazardous."

The Society therefore, on April 24th, voted "that the sum of eight hundred and fifty dollars be paid annually to the Rev. Dr. Strong during his life," and "that the Society do proceed to take suitable measures for settling a Colleague with the Rev. Dr. Strong." [88]

[88] It seems the more needful to set down these negotiations with Dr. Strong in some detail, because the idea of his unwillingness to have a colleague has become a sort of tradition, owing probably to an alleged anecdote of Dr. Strong in connection with the matter. A late number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (Oct. 1883) repeats this tradition of Dr. Strong's unwillingness; and of his reply to the enquiry who he would recommend as a colleague, "*Old Mr. Marsh of Wethersfield*;" and says, "After this Dr. Strong was allowed to live and die in peace as sole pastor until his death." That Dr. Strong made such a reply to some enquirer is altogether likely; it was in his characteristic style. It was all the more amusing because Dr. Marsh was not only six years older than himself, but had the year previous (1815) broken down in health and required assistance for his own pulpit. Dr. Marsh wore a white, full-bottomed wig, said to be the last worn in New England. But the humor of Dr. Strong's joke, does not need the misstatement of the facts concerning his relations to his parish and to the colleague question.

Attempts were immediately begun. One incidental token of the impending change was a vote, December 24, 1816, to "lower the pulpit" whose lofty height, fixed it is said by Dr. Strong, was probably objected to by some of the persons who preached from it. The desired colleague however had not been secured, and on the day following the above vote, December 25th, the Pastor died, in the sixty-ninth year of his age and the forty-third of his ministry. Dr. Strong's health had been precarious for some time, but he preached in his own pulpit twice on Sunday, November 10th, the text of the morning sermon being Hebrews ix, 27: *It is appointed to men once to die, but after this the judgment;* and in the afternoon Philippians i, 23–24: *For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better. Nevertheless, to abide in the flesh is more needful for you.* Both sermons were, some years subsequently, printed in the *Christian Spectator.*[39]

[39] July, 1824, and Feb., 1825. While these pages were passing through the press a bundle of *MSS.* notes of sermons, preached in the First Church, and reported by the hand of Dea. Aaron Colton for about sixty years, from 1780 to 1840, came into the Church's possession from Rev. President Chapin of Beloit, grandson of the deacon. As abstracts of the sermons themselves they are excessively meagre. But the record of dates is in many cases valuable as determining matters perhaps otherwise unascertainable. In this particular instance of Dr. Strong's last appearance in the pulpit, Dea. Colton's notes enable us to correct the statement made by Dr. Sprague (*Annals*, ii, 36), that "but one Sabbath" intervened between Dr. Strong's last public ministrations and his death. Dea. Colton's notes show that seven Sabbaths intervened, during which time the pulpit was supplied by Revs. Messrs. Robbins, Steward, and McEwen, and by Dr. Perkins. These notes show also several periods of protracted absence from his pulpit by Dr. Strong, *e. g.*, the greater part of the year 1781, during most of which time the pulpit was supplied by Rev. Mr. Perry; presumably Rev. David Perry of Harwinton, whose son, Rev. David C. Perry, married Dr. Strong's daughter.

These notes also show quite clearly that there prevailed in Dr. Strong's day, and in that portion of Dr. Hawes' time, also, which they cover, a very much more frequent habit of ministerial exchange in pulpit service, than exists at present. The fraternity of the churches was in this way illustrated to a degree which would astonish, and it is to be conjectured, sometimes irritate a modern congregation.

Funeral services were held in the church-edifice where he had so long ministered. Rev. Dr. Nathan Perkins of West Hartford, his associate in the ministry of Hartford County from the first, preached the sermon on the occasion.[40] The body was laid in the North burying-ground—being the first of the Hartford Pastors to be laid elsewhere than in the old burying-ground behind the church-edifice—separating him thus from the members of his family, who lie in the old soil. A monument in the form of a sarcophagus was erected over his burial-place, by the people of his Society,[41] bearing the following inscription:

BENEATH THIS MONUMENT ARE DEPOSITED THE REMAINS OF THE

REV. NATHAN STRONG, D.D.,

PASTOR OF THE FIRST ECCLESIASTICAL SOCIETY IN HARTFORD.

Endowed with rare talent, and eminent for learning and eloquence, he zealously devoted himself to the cause of religion; and after many years of faithful service, approved and blessed by the Holy Spirit, he fell asleep in Jesus, deeply lamented by his friends, the people of his charge, and the Church of Christ.

Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, for they rest from their labors.

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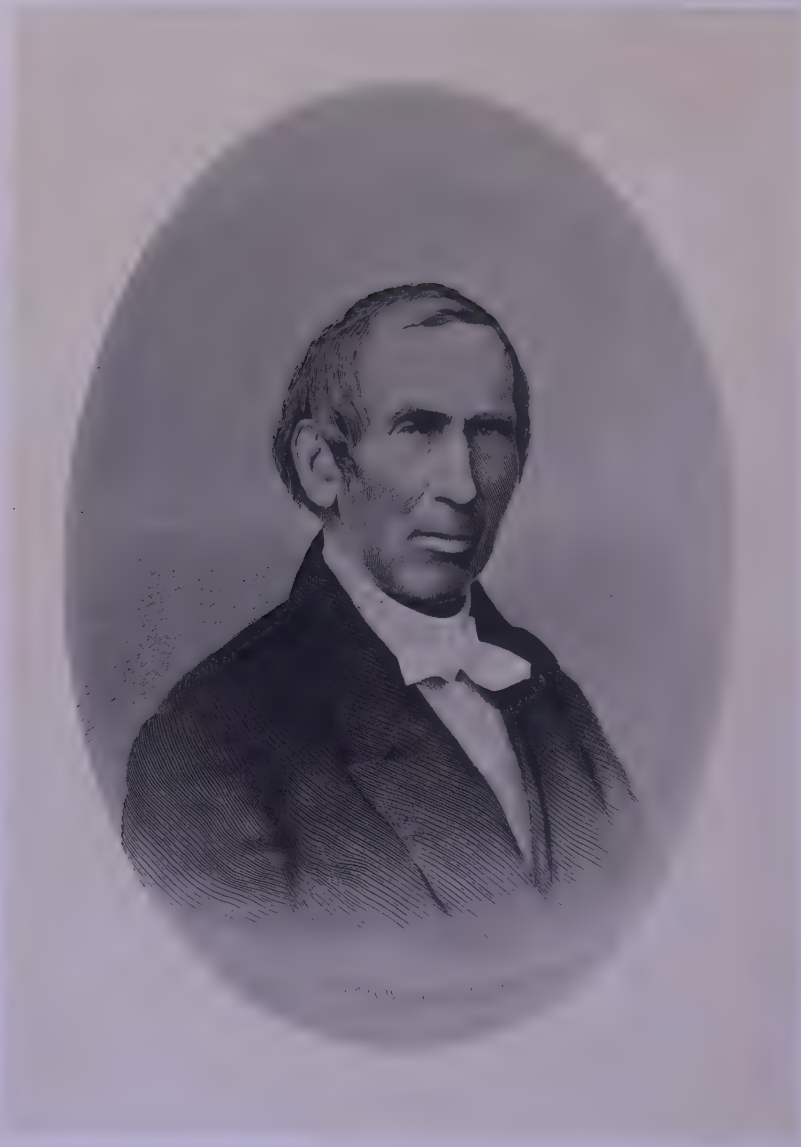
[40] "A Sermon delivered at the Interment of the Rev. Nathan Strong, D.D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Hartford: who died Dec. 25, 1816, aged sixty-eight, and in the forty-third year of his ministry. By Nathan Perkins, D.D., Pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church in Hartford. Published by request. *The just shall be had in everlasting remembrance.* Hartford, George Goodwin and Sons, Printers. 1817."

[41] The vote to erect the monument to Dr. Strong was passed at Society meeting, Dec. 22, 1817. It was at this meeting that Mr. Seth Terry (afterward Dea. Terry of the Second Church) called attention to the neglected, inscriptionless condition of Rev. Thomas Hooker's grave (see *ante*, p. 115, *note*), and secured the action of the Society for the uplifting of the fallen stone and the cutting thereon of the present inscription.



J. Haines

CHAPTER XIV.

JOEL HAWES AND HIS DAYS.

In his communication to the Society responding to the offer of a colleague, Dr. Strong had excused himself "from all advice and agency" respecting the particular person to be secured. Nevertheless the committee consulted him on the matter, and two persons at least occupied the pulpit on the basis of his "approbation" or even at his "recommendation." One of these came before his death—Mr. Eleazer T. Fitch,[1] then a student in Andover Seminary, who preached however but a single Sunday, Nov. 3, 1816.

The other was Mr. Ebenezer Burgess,[2] then a young mathematical professor at the college in Burlington, Vermont. This latter gentleman, of whom Dr. Strong "had a high opinion," preached on seventeen occasions between January 31 and March 9, 1817,[3] occupying the pulpit six Sundays. Neither of these gentlemen however was called. Nor was Rev. Heman Humphrey,[4] who after Dr. Strong's death,

[1] Rev. Eleazer Thompson Fitch, D.D., born in New Haven, Jan. 1, 1791; graduated, Yale College, 1810; at Andover Seminary, 1817; Pastor of the Church in Yale College, 1817–1852; Professor of Homiletics, Yale Divinity School, 1822–1861; died at New Haven, Jan. 31, 1871, aged 80.

[2] Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, D.D., born April 1, 1790, Wareham, Mass.; graduated, Brown University, 1809; Professor, University of Vermont, 1815–1817; Pastor, Dedham, Mass., 1821 till death, Dec. 5, 1870.

[3] Dea. Colton's *Notes*; who minutes some of these services as "Thursday evening" or "Conference Room."

[4] Rev. Heman Humphrey, D.D., born in Simsbury, March 26, 1779; graduated at Yale College, 1805; ordained at Fairfield, 1807; installed at Pittsfield, Mass., 1817; President of Amherst College, 1823–1845; died 1861.

preached seven Sabbaths, beginning June 1 and ending July 15, 1817.[5]

Meantime, in the interregnum between the decease of the old Pastor and the settlement of his successor, the pulpit was largely supplied by Rev. Joseph Steward,[6] a Deacon of the Church.

The successful candidate appeared at last. Sunday, the 28th of September 1817, saw in the pulpit of this Society for the first time, a tall, awkward man of a little over twenty-seven years of age, who was destined to fill the second longest term of pastoral service in the two hundred and fifty years of its history. A member of this Church, now deceased, who well knew Dr. Strong, narrated to the present writer his vivid impressions of that Sabbath, and the sharp contrast he felt between the courtly and dignified bearing of the Pastor of his youth, and the ungainly, impulsive, red-bandannad occupant of his place. But he truthfully added the reproof administered to him by a pious old aunt to whom he ventured to suggest some of his feelings: "Remember my words, that is to be a very remarkable man." [7]

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[5] The *honorarium* for these services of the various occupants of the pulpit at this period, as appears by the Treasurer's account, was ten dollars a Sunday, with no account taken of Thursday lectures. The "candidates" were boarded at the house of the late Pastor, by his son Nathan, at the expense of the Society.

[6] Rev. Joseph Steward, born at Upton, Mass., Aug. 6, 1752; graduated, Dartmouth College; studied divinity with Dr. Levi Hart, at Preston, Conn.; ordained an evangelist, and preached extensively in New England; prevented by ill-health from assuming a regular pastorate; fixed his residence at Hartford, and learned painting under the instruction of Col. John Trumbull; established a "Museum" at Hartford; was chosen Deacon of the First Church in 1797; united with Drs. Strong and Flint in the compilation of the *Hartford Selection of Hymns;* died at Hartford, April 15 1822, greatly respected and beloved; leaving a widow, *Sarah*, daughter of Rev. Samuel Mosely of Windham, and two (Sarah M. and Ann Jane) and perhaps more children. A Thanksgiving Sermon preached by Mr. Steward in the pulpit of the "First Presbyterian Church" of Hartford, Nov. 28, 1816, just before Dr. Strong's death, was published.

[7] Harvey Seymour.

Joel Hawes, one of this Church's and Connecticut's most eminently useful ministers, was born at Medway, Massachusetts, December 22, 1789. His father was a blacksmith and a farmer; a man of tough, vigorous constitution, who lived to the age of eighty-three; his mother to the age of seventy-seven. Neither of the parents was a professing Christian, and the household seems to have been trained without religious instruction. Joel's youth was passed amid associations not very congenial to scholarly tastes or even favorable to mental improvement. He says of this period of his experience, "The first years of my life were thrown away. I was a wild, hardy, reckless youth, delighting in hunting, fishing, trapping, and in rough, athletic sports; all tending to invigorate my constitution, but adding nothing to my mental or moral improvement. Early instruction I had none."

It was at about eighteen years of age, and while engaged in serving a period in a cloth-dressing establishment, that he experienced his first strong spiritual impressions, almost for the first time read the Bible, and became experimentally a Christian. He made confession of his faith by uniting with the church in Medway the first Sunday in May 1808, being at that time also baptized. His first impulse toward an education was derived from the suggestion of Miss Betsey Prentiss, a sister of Rev. Mr. Dickinson of Holliston, by whom he was employed in manual labor.

Studying awhile in private, under the tuition of Rev. Dr. Crane of Northbridge, he entered Brown University in September 1809. He worked his way through college, teaching school in winter, but by indefatigable industry and labor graduated September 1, 1813, second in rank in his class. He entered Andover Seminary in 1813; dropped out a year to teach in Phillips Academy, and graduated in September

1817. He had been licensed to preach by the Essex Middle Association on May 13th previous, and followed his licensure by preaching several Sabbaths for Rev. Dr. Dana of Newburyport. Measures looking to his call to the pastorate in connection with Dr. Dana were in progress when he was invited to preach at this First Church in Hartford. He came here on the Saturday following his graduation, and preached his first sermon here on the succeeding Sunday. He preached six Sundays,[8] and was then requested by the Committee to preach six more. He did four.

Having thus made trial of his gifts for ten Sabbaths, the Church, at a meeting presided over by Deacon Joseph Steward, and of which Mr. Seth Terry was Clerk, on the 13th of January 1818, voted "unanimously" to extend to Mr. Hawes "an Invitation to take the Pastoral Charge." With this action of the Church, the Society on the 20th of January concurred.[9] The salary tendered to Mr. Hawes was twelve hundred dollars, "so long as he shall continue to be the Minister of this Society." Seventeen churches were

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[8] The text of his first sermon was *John* xv, 22: "*If I had not come and spoken unto them they had not had sin, but now they have no cloke for their sin.*" On Nov. 30th, he preached at Glastonbury, and good Deacon Colton followed him over there to hear him.

[9] The *Call* was signed by Isaac Bull, Joseph Steward, Aaron Chapin, Josiah Beckwith, Aaron Colton, Committee of the Church, and John Caldwell, Enoch Perkins, Normand Smith, Jonathan Edwards, Committee of the Society. Nothing is affirmed on the Society records as to its unanimity; but there seems to be evidence that however the vote may finally have been *made*, there was a good deal of division of sentiment as to the call. A paper was awhile since extant, and may be in existence still, containing a canvass of the Society on the question of the invitation, with each member's name marked on the negative or affirmative side of the question. The division was nearly equal, with a preponderance on the side of the call. Two gentlemen, at least, well known in Hartford, remember this paper, one of whom had it awhile in his possession. It seems probable that a more complete unanimity in the Church than in the Society respecting the call, determined the latter body to accede without recorded dissent on its minutes to the action of the former.

invited on the Council, which met March 4, 1818. An interesting letter written on the 24th of February preceding the Council, by Rev. David Parsons of Amherst, Mass., to his brother-in-law, Hon. Thomas S. Williams of Hartford, then in Congress, gives a contemporaneous glimpse of the man and the general situation. Mr. Parsons says:

"The ordination of Mr. Hawes induces me to attempt being there. Hearing so many strictures I wish to see the man. Mr. Parkhurst our Preceptor, was a classmate at Andover and left at the same time. He says: 'He was a prime scholar, regarded the first in the school—a pious man, filled with holy zeal, and the most ready, able man at extemporaneous performance at conference, that he ever heard.' Mr. Tenny observed that in a private circle at Hartford, Mr. Hawes says—'Some say I preach false Doctrine, but as I am fully able to substantiate every sentiment by the Word of God, for this I am not sorry. Others say I am a very homely man, but as I had no hand in my formation, for this I am not sorry. Others say I am a very awkward, ungraceful, uncomplaisant man;—for this I am very sorry, and will endeavor to mend in my manners if possible; and believe that being conversant with the polite set of the city of Hartford I stand a good chance.' A suspicion of his being an *Emmonsite* I believe the cause of inviting such an abominably large Council."

In the public service of the ordination Prof. Fitch of Yale College offered the Introductory Prayer; Dr. Woods preached the Sermon, which was afterwards published, from Heb. xiii, 17; Dr. Nathan Perkins of West Hartford offered the ordaining Prayer; Mr. Rowland of Windsor gave the Charge; Dr. Abel Flint of the Second Church extended the Right Hand of Fellowship, and Rev. Samuel Goodrich of Berlin made the concluding prayer.[10]

[10] The expense of the Ordination Dinner as charged on the Treasurer's Account was ninety-four dollars. The *Courant* of March 10, 1818, gives this

Thus inducted into the pastorate, the tenth in the ministerial succession in this Church, Mr. Hawes soon followed the establishment of his ecclesiastical relations by the institution of social ones. He married on June 17, 1818, Miss Louisa Fisher of Wrentham, Mass.[11]

The extended biography of Joel Hawes, published by Rev. Dr. Edward A. Lawrence in 1873,[12] which is in the hands of a considerable proportion of those who are interested in the chronicles of the First Church, will be held by the present writer to excuse him from entering upon any elaborate details of the Pastor's personal history. It is to the main facts of the Church's corporate experience, and of the Pastor's life in relation to that experience, that these pages must be restricted.

Dr. Strong had certainly been a very able and in most of his ministry a very devout and useful minister; but many things in Church and Society affairs were left by him at strangely loose ends.

Yet it is impossible to read the new Pastor's account of matters, written in the first year of his ministry, without discerning a good deal of exaggeration and some inexplicable inaccuracy. He says:

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account of the proceedings: "A numerous and attentive audience appeared to be deeply interested in the solemnities of the occasion. The sacred music under the direction of Mr. Roberts was highly honorable to the Choir of Singers who have so often been distinguished on public occasions. The union and liberality of the people with the character and attainments of their Pastor furnish a well-grounded hope that he will become a worthy member of the illustrious succession of Evangelical Ministers who have enlightened and adorned this Church from the first settlement of the State."

[11] Miss Fisher was the daughter of William C. and Lois Mason Fisher of Wrentham, Mass. Mr. Fisher was a farmer, a man of much intelligence, and of prominence in the public business of his town.

[12] "The life of Joel Hawes, D.D., Tenth Pastor of the First Church of Hartford, Conn., by Edward A. Lawrence, D.D. With an introduction by Theodore Woolsey, D.L., LL.D., Hartford: Published by Hamersley and Co. 1873." 8vo, pp. 385.

"Our Jerusalem is all in ruins. . . When I see how much is to be done here to set things in order, I am ready to sink; no church-records; no documents to tell me who are members and who not; what children have been baptised, and what not; our covenant and confession of faith contained in just ten Arminian lines; four deacons of the five not members of the Church; many irregular members, some timid ones, and, I fear, but few, who would favor a thorough reformation. Oh, dear! But under the guidance and blessing of Providence, I hope to see better days. *My purpose is fixed and it must go.*" [13]

Rev. Mr. Robbins, writing in December 1816[14] of his friend Dr. Strong, says: "The church which he has left contains about 400 communicants, and is the largest in the State." Repeated revivals from the commencement of the century to the year previous to Dr. Strong's death had replenished the spiritual life of the organization, and it is not easy to see how such a condition of "ruin" could have existed in 1819 as the above pessimistic paragraph implies. The statement concerning the absence of records is unfortunately true. Dr. Strong seems utterly to have neglected the keeping of any account of baptisms, church admissions, removals or deaths. Only an alleged list of the members of the Church at the time of entrance on the new meeting-house in 1807, and some imperfect memoranda kept by one of the Prudential Committee for his own use, survive to us to indicate who had a place in the fellowship in Dr. Strong's day. But in the list of 1807, the names of Isaac Bull, Aaron Chapin, Aaron Colton, and Joseph Steward—deacons in 1819, at the time of Mr. Hawes' paragraph—appear as members of the Church.

But unqestionably there was enough to be done, and the new Pastor threw himself into his work with energy and suc-

[13] Lawrence's *Life of Hawes*, pp. 63–64.
[14] *Courant*, Dec. 31, 1816.

cess. Records began to be kept in the Church, unkept or most imperfectly kept for forty-five years. A Prudential Committee, the first in the Church's history, was appointed in 1821 to "aid the Pastor in promoting the peace and welfare of the Church and in the maintenance of gospel discipline." The committee thus designated consisted of the following named individuals: Russell Bunce, William W. Ellsworth, Normand Smith, Caleb Goodwin, Henry Hudson, and James R. Woodbridge; and the records of the Church indicate that they entered upon their function of "maintenance of gospel discipline" with vigor.

The Pastor sympathetically coöperated also with the Sabbath-school work, first undertaken in Hartford the year of his settlement. The "Sunday School Society" of the "inhabitants of the Town of Hartford," was organized on the 5th of May 1818, Rev. Abel Flint of the Second Church being President, and Mr. Hawes one of the Directors.[15] Four schools were formed with special reference to the four then existing religious societies in the place—the First and Second Congregational, Christ Church, and the First Baptist—but all under the patronage of the Union Society.[16] This

[15] The list of officers was as follows: Rev. Abel Flint, *President;* Rev. Jonathan M. Wainwright, *Vice-President;* Seth Terry, *Secretary;* Jeremiah Brown *Treasurer;* Rev. Elisha Cashmam, Rev. Joel Hawes, Michael Olcott, Russell Bunce, Michael Bull, Joseph B. Gilbert, Josiah Beckwith, Theodore Pease, James M. Goodwin, *Directors.*

[16] The "School No. 1" was held at the "North Conference Room" in Temple street, and had for its original teachers: Messrs J. R. Woodbridge, George Putnam, Lyman Coleman, Walter Colton, Lewis Edwards, Daniel P. Hopkins, and Misses Betsy Kingsbury, Nancy Perkins, Susan Knox, Harriet Whiting, and Mary Ann Brown.

"School No. 2" was held "at the Episcopal Church;" "No. 3" at the "Baptist Meeting House;" "No. 4 at the South Chapel." George Spencer was Superintendent of School No. 1; James M. Goodwin of School No. 2; Joseph B. Gilbert of School No. 3; and Elijah Knox of School No. 4. The schools were maintained only in the months of Spring and Summer, from April to October inclusive. A report was made on October 13, 1818, that the average attendance that season on the four schools had been "about 500 scholars."

arrangement continued, however, only about two years, when each society took the management of Sunday-school work into its own hands.

Another action to which the Church was persuaded about this time may, or may not perhaps, command equal sympathy. The new Pastor had just come from Andover, where the battle lines of the Unitarian controversy were set in sharply hostile array. And he stigmatized the Covenant of the Church here as "a covenant and confession of faith contained in just ten Arminian lines." That Covenant, which with slight verbal change had been in use in this Church certainly more than a century and a quarter, reads as follows:

"You do now solemnly, in the presence of God and these witnesses, receive God in Christ to be your God: one God in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. You believe the Scriptures to be the word of God, and promise by divine grace to make them the rule of your life and conversation. You own yourself to be by nature a child of wrath and declare that your only hope of mercy is through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, whom you now publickly profess to take for your Lord and Saviour, your Prophet, Priest, and King: and you now give up yourself to Him to be ruled, governed, and eternally saved. You promise by divine grace regularly to attend all the ordinances of the Gospel (as God may give you light and opportunity) and to submit to the rule and government of Christ in this Church."

Just where the "Arminianism" comes into this old formula to which so many generations had given assent in the most solemn covenant of their lives, it is hard to tell. But the Church yielded to the Pastor's desires, and on the 29th of July 1822, adopted a long, many-articled confession of faith, which with slight and unimportant modifications continues in use to this day.[17]

[17] See Appendix XIII for articles of Faith and Covenant thus adopted.

But the grand distinguishing feature of the pastorate under consideration was the occurrence of revivals of religion such as on the whole surpassed in fruitfulness any which had marked the history of the Church before. One such revival in 1819 brought into the Church a considerable accession, among whom were six young men from one mechanics' workshop; three of whom afterward entered the gospel ministry.[18]

Another revival in 1820–1821 pervaded the entire region, and brought into the churches connected with the Hartford County North Association more than a thousand new members, and added to the First Church one hundred and thirty-eight. In the labors of this period the Pastor was greatly assisted by the presence about two weeks and the powerful preaching of Rev. Lyman Beecher of Litchfield.[19] Surviving members of the Church still recall the scenes of intense solemnity and interest in the crowded meetings of the old Temple Street Conference-room, when the Litchfield pastor preached, and in the house to house visitation of the two

[18] Rev. James Anderson, born Sept. 13, 1798, at Hartford; studied awhile at Amherst College; graduated at Andover Seminary, 1828; ordained pastor at Manchester, Vt., 1829; resigned 1858; died Dec. 22, 1881.

Anson Gleason, went as missionary to the Choctaw Indians in Mississippi, leaving Hartford on horseback January 19, 1823. Remained in that work till 1831. Missionary to the Mohegan Indians in Connecticut from 1832 to 1848. District Secretary A. B. C. F. M. for Vermont and New Hampshire 1848 to 1851. Missionary to the Seneca Indians in New York 1851 to 1861. City Missionary in Rochester and Utica 1861 to 1864. City Missionary in Brooklyn, N. Y. 1864 to the present time (March 1884) in his 87th year.

Algernon S. Kennedy graduated Y. C., 1825; studied Theology under private instruction; licensed to preach but never ordained; preached in various places but always in poor health, and died in 1841.

[19] Rev. A. Gleason in a letter dated Nov. 16, 1883, says: "The messenger reached Litchfield in the night and called Dr. Beecher up; and he, partly dressed, walked the room with one boot on, saying, 'Wife! Wife! revival in Hartford, and I am sent for!' And the Doctor came to us like a lighted torch in full blaze. Large numbers were in the meetings for enquiry, and of all ages —judges, lawyers, merchants, asking the way to the kingdom."

ministers for private conference with the enquirers after the way of life.

In 1826 another general awakening in this region brought many into the churches, and added to the First Church some fifty-four members. Many of them were young men. The Pastor was always deeply interested in this portion of his congregation. And he was moved in the autumn of the following year, 1827, to preach a series of *Lectures to Young Men* on successive Sunday evenings in his church. These Lectures were most enthusiastically listened to by crowded congregations. A repetition of them by request before the students of Yale College, was attended by almost equal interest. Their publication was called for. Few books of a similar character have attained a like circulation.

First published in April 1828, the edition was at once exhausted and another immediately called for. To the third edition, which soon followed the second, was added a *Lecture on Reading*, first delivered before the Mechanic's Association in Hartford and repeated to the First Church congregation.

In 1856 two more lectures were added: the *Causes of Success and of Failure in Life*, and the *Claims of the Bible on Young Men*, and the copyright of the volume was made over by the author to the Congregational Board of Publication, with the stipulation that fifty copies should be annually subject to the call of the successive pastors of the First Church for distribution in their congregations.[20]

[20] This arrangement naturally came to naught. The pecuniary consideration in view of which the Congregational Board of Publication undertook the annual delivery of the books was totally inadequate; the demand for the books ceased; and in 1881 when the present Pastor unearthed the forgotten agreement, the Congregational Publication Society, which succeeded to the effects and liabilities of the old Board of Publication, avowed its inability to meet the continuous obligation incurred by its predecessor, and turned over to the First Church the remaining copies of the Lectures on its hands.

It is said that nearly a hundred thousand copies of these *Lectures to Young Men* have found circulation in the various editions published in this country, and a still larger number in Great Britain. One Scotch publisher alone issued fifty thousand copies.[21]

The volume makes no pretence to any high degree of literary excellence. It lacks the charm of a perennially attractive style or of a brilliant imagination. Like all the productions of its author, its aim is moral impression and practical usefulness; and this aim the writer of these lectures had the satisfaction of knowing was eminently attained. In the preface of the edition published by the Congregational Board in 1856, the author is able to say that "besides numerous testimonies to its general usefulness, he has heard of more than eighty young men who have traced the commencement of their Christian life to impressions received from reading this little book." At the time of its publication, the field was a comparatively untrodden one. Young men had not been made the objects of the continuous address and appeal which they have been since. But measured by its influence in its day, few more successful endeavors have been made in Christian authorship than this little volume. Perhaps its wide and immediate success was the occasion for conferring on its author the Doctorate Degree in Divinity with which, in 1831, Brown University honored him.

[21] The sale of the American edition was largely the source of income out of which Dr. Hawes seems to have built his house, now the First Church Parsonage. The ground, valued at $1,000, on which the house was built, was given him by the subscribers to a paper still extant: "Daniel Wadsworth, $400; Thomas S. Williams, $100; Oliver D. Cooke, $100; Wm. W. Ellsworth, $25; Henry L. Ellsworth, $50; Henry Hudson, $100; Joseph Trumbull, $50; Chas. Seymour, $50; George Goodwin, $50; Barzillai Hudson, $20; Andrew Kingsbury, $25; Robert Watkinson, $30." The erection of the superstructure at an apparent expense of $2,998.49, seems to have been provided for, certainly in considerable measure, by profits on the sale of the *Lectures to Young Men.*

Worn somewhat by his continuous labors, Dr. Hawes in May 1831, obtained leave of his Society[22] to take a European trip; which he did in company with Rev. Drs. Asahel Nettleton, Nathaniel Hewitt, Samuel Green and Prof. Hovey; returning in October of the same year. His return was marked by the earnest resumption of his work, and by the experiment of a "protracted" or "four days'" meeting; tried it is said for the first time in Connecticut. Dr. Hawes doubted the wisdom of this particular form of endeavor, but yielded to the desire of the pastors of the Second and North Churches who favored it. Some fifty members were added to the Church as the result of this awakening.

In 1834 an important religious movement occurred which brought into the Church many heads of families and men of general influence in the community, who had remained hitherto unreached. The powerful preaching of Rev. N. W. Taylor of New Haven, who reinforced the endeavors of the Pastor at this time, contributed greatly to the success of this awakening, which resulted in the accession of between sixty and seventy to the church membership. The year 1838 brought in eighty.

In 1841 was another great revival in this region. Rev. Mr. Kirk, then in the prime of his popular eloquence and evangelistic fervor, preached in many of the Hartford churches with persuasive power. One hundred and ten per-

[22] The Society voted the Pastor $500 toward the expense of this trip. His pulpit was supplied in his five months absence mainly by Rev. James T. Dickinson. Mr. Dickinson was born at Lowville, N. Y., October 27, 1806; graduated Yale College, 1826; Yale Theological Seminary, 1830; Pastor of 2d Church, Norwich, Conn., two and a half years, 1832–1834; Missionary A. B. C. F. M. at Singapore, 1834–1840; Teacher at Singapore, 1840–1843; Stated preacher at Middlefield, Conn., 1845–6; resides at Middlefield.

sons were added to this Church at this period. More than one hundred stood up at one time in the aisle of the church to confess their new faith. The revival of 1852 brought in sixty-six, and that of 1858 fifty.

Ten periods of distinct religious awakening occurred during this ministry, and there were added to the Church in that space of time, by confession of faith, ten hundred and seventy-nine members.

It is obvious to remark, in view of a fact like this, that the ministry of this eminent Pastor was cast in a period more characterized by general revival influences than any which had gone before for a hundred years, or than, from present signs, seems very likely soon to occur again. But it is equally obvious that these extraordinary results were largely attributable to the man himself who was in this pastorate at that period. His zeal, his wisdom, his perseverance, his profound convictions, his unmistakable sincerity and devotion, were powerful, and it is perfectly proper to say, indispensable elements in that wonderful series of awakenings.

But if the period of this pastorate was one of large accessions to the Church, it was also one of large colonizations from it.

On the 23d of September 1824, ninety-seven members received dismission from this Church, and were, with others, organized as the North Church.

On the 10th of January 1832, eighteen members were organized with others as the Free, now the Fourth Church.

On the 14th of October 1852, thirty-six members of this Church, and soon after eleven more, were dismissed to unite with others in forming the Pearl Street Church.

For some reason the departure of those members destined to the Pearl Street Church finds unusual chronicle on the

generally arid pages of the Church record. The Thursday-evening lecture on the date of their dismissal was given up to a meeting for reminiscences and farewells. Deacon W. W. Turner presented the written request of himself and his thirty-five associates for dismission. Judge Thomas S. Williams, as the senior lay officer in the Church, moved the granting of the request. Deacons Smith and Turner followed with addresses of thanks and expressions of regret at separation. Deacon Turner said: "Our Pastor is the only one who remains of those who were in the city when I came here. The population of the place was then about 5,000; now it is 20,000. There were then four places of worship—the South Church, a little north of the present edifice; this Church, the only brick church-edifice in the city; Christ Church, which has since been removed to Talcott Street for the Catholics, and the Baptist Church, just east of the City Hall."

Dr. Hawes responded in an address of much emotion: "Each successive withdrawal of this kind makes a deeper impression upon me. Jacob in his old age was more affected by parting from Benjamin, than from Joseph and Simeon before. Four times I have witnessed a scene like this. In 1824 ninety-seven members left us to the North or Third Church; in 1832 eighteen to the Fourth Church, and in 1851 eight to the Presbyterian Church. But this enterprise has ever had my cordial good wishes, and if I have access to the throne of grace, I shall remember it there."

On the 5th of March 1865, forty members, and shortly after eleven more, were dismissed to unite with others in forming the Asylum Hill Church.

The old Church was a quarry, out of which everybody was free to draw the living stones of newer temples. It gave

liberally. It gave men and it gave money. It was eminently a church-planting and missionary Church.

That the Church had this character was very largely owing to the Pastor's earnest sympathy with that cause which Dr. Strong before him had so nearly at heart, the cause of missions. The idea which had inspired the men with whom Dr. Strong labored to carry the gospel to the "new settlements," had widened in Dr. Hawes' day to the purpose to evangelize the pagans of other lands than our own. And to awaken sympathy with this purpose on the part of his people, the Pastor devoted some of his best energies. He was elected a corporate member of The American Board of Foreign Missions in 1838, and continued a member till his death. Under his leadership the congregation became one of the most liberal givers to this object of any in New England.

It was in fitting harmony with the spirit of self-surrender for this object which he so strenuously inculcated, that Dr. Hawes consented to the marriage of his only daughter Mary, to Rev. Henry J. Van Lennep,[23] with a view to a missionary life in a foreign land. She left her father's house in 1843, and sailed in October of that year for Smyrna. She had the happiness to be accompanied by her father, to whom his Church had given a leave of absence, and to whom in conjunction with Rev. Dr. Rufus Anderson the "Board" had entrusted a visitation commission to the Turkey missions.[24]

[23] Rev. Henry John Van Lennep, D.D., born at Smyrna, Asia Minor, March 18, 1815; graduated at Amherst College, 1837; ordained, Aug. 27, 1839; married Mary E. Hawes, Sept. 4, 1843, and Emily Ann Bird, April 18, 1850; missionary at Smyrna, 1839–1869; returned to America; resides at Great Barrington, Mass.

[24] During the absence of Dr. Hawes the pulpit was mainly supplied by Rev. Charles Rich (Mr. Rich graduated at Yale College, 1838; acting pastor at Meriden, 1840–41; died, 1862.) Some people expressed the fear that Mr. Rich would steal the hearts of the people. Judge Williams wrote to Dr. Hawes:

Her term of service was destined to be short. She died in September of the following year, 1844, and was buried in foreign soil.[25]

Her father returned from the Levantine tour in the early summer of 1844, the Church receiving from the missionaries at Constantinople a letter of testimonial to the encouragement and cheer imparted by this visit of its Pastor. A public reception at the City Hall was arranged on the Pastor's return, where he was cordially welcomed by his congregation and by others.

Of course a pastorate like this attracted attention, and induced other churches to desire the services of such a man for themselves. In 1828 Dr. Hawes was invited to the ministry of the Bowery Presbyterian Church in New York; a call which was repeated on his first declination of it, but a second time refused. In 1831 he was called to the pastorate of the Park Street Church in Boston; and having declined to accept it, was once more, about a year afterward, solicited to accept the same charge, but with a like negative of the

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"There is no serious danger from this source. I agree with Mr. M———, that 'when Dr. Hawes returns home and blows his trumpet, his troops will all flock to his standard.'"

[25] A memoir of Mrs. Mary E. Van Lennep was written by her mother and published, passing through many editions. It is a graceful tribute to a beautiful life. Mary was born April 16, 1821. She became a member of this Church in June 1833, at the age of 12 years. She was ever an active and working Christian, intent on the salvation of her companions and acquaintances, the members of her Sunday-school class, and all to whom her influence could reach. She was married at 22 years of age, and sailed almost immediately for the mission to which her husband was destined. Her life on the mission field was one of earnest consecration and effort to qualify herself for a large usefulness. She was cut off from all her hopes of such continued service, dying of typhus, Sept. 27, 1844. A discourse, entitled *A Father's Memorial of an Only Daughter*, was preached by her father in Hartford, Dec. 9, 1844, which was published; a sermon eminently characteristic of the self-control and submissiveness of the afflicted parent, as well as happily descriptive of the attractive traits of his sainted child.

proposal. During the few following years Dr. Hawes received and declined invitations to become pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Buffalo, the First Presbyterian Church in Utica, the First Reformed Church in Philadelphia, and the Richmond Street Church in Providence. But he preferred to abide where he was first planted. Nor does there seem at any time to have been much apprehension on the part of his congregation that he would accept any of the overtures made to him. Either from a confidence in the Pastor's affection for his people, or from a not perhaps uncharacteristic estimate on their part of the desirableness of a relationship to Hartford and its First Ecclesiastical establishment, there appears no indication of any great fear of his removal.[26]

The Pastor of the First Church was always a conspicuous figure at the State religious gatherings, and his Church had reason for confidence that, represented by him, its voice would have full weight in whatsoever questions were in debate. Though not naturally a polemic or a controversialist, Dr. Hawes was a strong debater, and was a sympathetic defender of the ecclesiastical system long legally established and still longer generally accepted in Connecticut.[27] It was

[26] A letter (perhaps happily anonymous) preserved in Dr. Lawrence's biography of Dr. Hawes, written to the Pastor during the pendency of the overture to the Bowery Street Church, presents this view of the impossibility of a serious intent to go anywhere from Hartford, in a very soberly intended, but a decidedly amusing manner. Possibly, however, a trace of solicitude on this point (or perhaps it may be rather of gratitude for his conclusion) appears in the addition, in 1836, of $300 to the salary on which the Pastor was settled; an addition which was voted regularly thereafter till 1854, when the salary was fixed at $2,000, till the settling of an "Associate Pastor" in 1862, when the original $1,200, on which he was settled, was reverted to and continued until his death.

[27] Dr. Hawes was fond of quoting the statement of Thomas Hooker (*Survey*, iv, 1.) "The Consociation of Churches is not onely lawful but very usefull also;" and especially that other saying, uttered "about a week before his

not till three years after his death that the local Consociation to which his Church belonged suspended[28] its regular assemblies; doubtless in favor of the newly-instituted Conferences, which had come extensively through the State, to take the place of the older organizations.

Dr. Hawes was not characteristically a book-writer. His mind was not of a speculative or imaginative order, prompting to authorship as a channel for the outflow of what could not be repressed. He wrote some books, but they were mainly practical in aim, and such as were begotten of the pastoral experience. Beside the *Lectures to Young Men*, spoken of already, he published in 1830 *A Tribute to the Memory of the Pilgrims;* in 1839 a *Memoir of Normand Smith;* in 1843 *Character Everything to the Young;* in 1845 *The Religion of the East;* in 1845 *Looking-Glass for the Ladies, or the Formation and Excellence of Female Character;* in 1850 *Washington and Jay;* beside a great many occasional addresses and sermons on public occasions. Among the latter ought particularly to be mentioned *A Centennial Discourse* on the *First Church in Hartford*, delivered June 26, 1836; and an *Address delivered at the Request of*

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death," (See Trumbull i, 479.) "We must agree upon constant meetings of ministers, and settle the consociation of churches or else we are undone." He was indeed accustomed to assert, as he did in his address at the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the General Association, in 1859, that Mr. Hooker "was the father of the system of Consociation." (See *Cont. Conn. Eccl. Hist.*, p. 87.)

[28] Oct. 18, 1871, the Hartford North Consociation "voted to dispense with Annual meetings," and entrusted its records "to the care of the Registrar of Hartford Conference." The Hartford Conference was formed Feb. 21, 1871. The First Church on the 27th of November previous, responded by appointing delegates to an overture of the Second Church, dated Nov. 15th, calling a meeting of the Hartford and neighboring churches at the chapel of the Second Church, Nov. 30, 1870, for "purposes of religious quickening, and possibly, if deemed advisable, for the formation of a permanent local Conference."

the Citizens of Hartford, Nov. 9, 1835, *at the Close of the Second Century from the Settlement of the City.*

Neither of these discourses shows much trace of historical investigation; a process not very congenial to the Pastor's taste or practice; but both are interesting contributions to the local literature of the Church and town.

Through all that he wrote the homiletic habit of his mind manifested itself. He was above all else a minister of the Gospel. Nothing much attracted his attention or stirred his pen which had not a quite immediate connection with practical religion.

Dr. Hawes was not, like his predecessor Dr. Strong, a witty man, but he had a sometimes vigorous, sometimes quaint, or sometimes odd and simple way of saying things, which cause many of his utterances to be familiarly remembered. A few stories of him may here be recorded:

Dr. Hawes always recollected the priority of the First Church over all other ecclesiastical institutions in town; and his own long connection with that Church gave him a kind of conscious primacy in the place which found pleasant expression in this anecdote told of him. Calling on the scholarly rector of an Episcopal Church in the city with whom he was on terms of familiarity, and not finding him at home, he replied to the question of the servant as to whom she should say had called, "Say *Bishop* Hawes."

A young friend, of sanguine expectations, was going West to make a home. Dr. Hawes bade him good-bye with best wishes for the realization of his hopes, but suggested the propriety of his remembering that "Lot chose one of the cities of the plain to dwell in because it was well *watered*, but he was *burned out* nevertheless."

Dr. Hawes looked with much disfavor on the discontinu-

ance of the afternoon preaching service in his congregation. Reading on one occasion the eighty-fourth Psalm, and coming to the verse *For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand*, he paused; and lifting off his spectacles and looking straight down with extended fore-finger at a friend in the congregation who advocated the forenoon preaching only, said: "Observe, it is *a day in thy courts* the Psalmist wanted, not merely *half* a day."

The absolute sincerity and incapability of indirection or finesse of Dr. Hawes, come plainly and even amusingly out in these two incidents which are told of him. The first time his ageing eyesight demanded the employment of spectacles in the pulpit, he took them quite obviously and even demonstratively out of his pocket, and remarking "You see, my dear people, what I *have come to*," deliberately adjusted them and began his discourse.

Being called to New York to assist Dr. Spring in a time of great religious interest, and preaching to a crowded and intensely solemn assembly, Dr. Hawes' sermon led on into a passage bewailing the declension of religion and the absence of indications of spiritual life. He continued in this strain several sentences, when he paused, and putting his finger on the point where he left off, looked over the pulpit in an explanatory way, saying "You perceive, my friends, that this sermon was originally written for *another occasion*," and went on with the discourse.

Dr. Hawes had a strong aversion to anything that looked like artificiality and sensationalism in the pulpit. One Sunday a New York minister of some celebrity preached for him. Monday morning a brother minister met him and alluded to his having had a distinguished minister in his pulpit the day before. The quick and only response of the

Doctor was: "There are a great many ways of going to hell, and flashy preaching is one of them."

The strong and comforting words Dr. Hawes used to speak in the sick-room made his visits welcome and often called for. On one occasion he could not go to see a good old lady who seemed near her end; but knowing what manner of woman she was, he sent the message: "Tell her she has a *free pass* to heaven that don't need Joel Hawes' endorsement."

The Pastor liked to preach, but he preferred to preach to a good congregation. Rev. Dr. O. E. Daggett used to tell with pleasure the fact that during his settlement at the Second Church—from 1837 to 1843—a rainy Sunday morning was very likely to bring him, about breakfast time, a proposal from Dr. Hawes for an exchange that day. This rainy-day exchange occurred so many times, that at last a good old lady of the Second Church, innocently but earnestly remarked to her pastor upon the "very singular Providence which always orders it to rain whenever Dr. Hawes preaches at the South Church."

Dr. Hawes was genuinely desirous that the young men of his Church should be brought forward into the ranks of the active workers in it, but his nervousness at their attempts was obvious to them, and could but exert a somewhat repressive influence. Dr. H. Clay Trumbull tells this incident of a monthly-concert service, which it had been arranged should be conducted by the young men. Dr. Hawes after opening the meeting said, "I understand that the young men have arranged to report from different missionary fields to-night. They have not informed me of their plans. But they will go on. Who comes first?" Mr. George P. Bissell, then quite a young man, stepped forward and reported as to China.

"Who comes next?" asked the Doctor, with a touch of uneasiness in his tone. W. Wallace Jones, still younger, reported from the field of Home Missions. "Who's next?" called out the Doctor, in little less than a groan. H. Clay Trumbull rose to report from the Sandwich Islands. As the Doctor saw his beardless face the juvenile element was altogether too much for him. "Stop, Trumbull, stop!" he called out, and turning imploringly to Chief-Justice Williams said earnestly, "Judge Williams, as soon as Mr. Trumbull is through, won't you speak or lead in prayer. A few words of age and experience would do us good to-night." Then turning to Mr. Trumbull he said, graciously, "Now go on, Trumbull."

The Doctor, nevertheless, was troubled sometimes at the comparatively small numbers who took part in the rather formidably conducted services in which Judges Ellsworth and Williams, and other mature and dignified members of the Church chiefly participated; and occasionally he determined that a new leaf should be turned. Rising at an evening service, with a resolute look in his face, he said: "I hear that in Brother Beadle's church, close by us, there are more than eighty persons, who at one time or another take part in the prayer-meeting services. I have been looking the matter over and I can count only eleven to be depended on in that way in this Church of over five hundred. Brethren, this must be changed." Then pointing at a prominent member of the Church, well known in public affairs but seldom or never participating in devotional services, he said: "Brother —— will you lead us in prayer, *and we won't take any excuse!*" [29]

[29] The utility of a mid-week conference when compared with a mid-week lecture, was a point about which Dr. Hawes always had very positive convictions.

This unique method of the Pastor's introducing a public speaker rests on the same authority as the last two anecdotes before given, that of Dr. H. Clay Trumbull. The speaker was a missionary and had been duly introduced by the Pastor to the Thursday-evening assembly. Suddenly the Pastor, who had taken his seat back of the stranger, sprang up, saying, "Stop!" Then addressing the congregation, he continued "I knew this man when he was a boy; a most unpromising youth! I never thought he would make *anything*. But he persevered. He kept at work. And now let me say he can write as good a letter as any senior in Yale College. Go on, brother!"

Dr. Hawes had a sturdy and a well-grounded persuasion that he was an effective preacher. In his later days, when he began to be surrounded by younger men, "the rather new and modern sound of their gospel"—one of them says—did not always please him. And he had a conversation on the subject with an aged minister, and after criticizing the young ministers about him in some respects, and admitting a few things in [their] favor, he wound up and said: "But when it comes to preaching, Brother B., I can beat the whole of them." [30]

Underneath his somewhat rough and sometimes rather austere deportment, the Pastor carried a very warm and sensitive heart. He saw much personal affliction and bereavement, and he knew how to sympathize with suffering. His love for the young was earnest and tender. The loss of so

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His successor, Rev. Mr. Gould (sharing the general views of later New England pastors on the matter) instituted a conference meeting, in place of the lecture. Encountering Mr. Gould at the post-office, one morning, after a not very successful Thursday evening conference, Dr. Hawes abruptly addressed him: "Brother Gould, you'll never make those gabble-meetings go in the Centre Church, never!"

[30] Rev. Dr. Burton in the First Church *Commemorative Exercises*, p. 120.

many of his own children in early life seemed to bind all other children to him. His approaches to them were rather elephantine and stately sometimes, but young children saw friendliness in him always and were seldom afraid of him. He had a broad, hearty laugh; was fond of good stories; was quick at rejoinder, and a wholesome, healthy talker. In the family visits among his people his presence was welcome as sunlight and brought with it a benediction.

Meantime alongside the really grand record of this pastorate on its spiritual side, ran the semi-secular chronicle of Society matters, with its usual line of honorable, amusing, or drudging incidents.

The purchase system respecting the pews and slips in the meeting-house, was attended by some disadvantages. Owners of good sittings thus legally secured, sometimes were unwilling and sometimes became unable to pay a proper proportion of the Society expenses. In 1823 the Society found itself twenty-one hundred dollars in debt on current expenses; and proposed for the meeting of future obligations a scheme of a lease of the pews to the Society on the part of the owners, and of annual rental to the congregation; three-fourths of the amount of the rental to be paid to the owners, and one-fourth "with a moderate tax" additional, to be applied to the expenditures of the Society. The scheme was carried into partial execution but afforded no permanent relief.

In 1826 the debt had increased, and the Society voted to attempt the purchase of the pews "at a rate not exceeding sixty-five *per cent.* on their original cost" for those held in fee, and "thirty-two and a half *per cent.* for those sold for thirty years," and conditional "on the assent to such purchase of three-fourths of the total valuation."

One consideration urged at this meeting was that "both the North and South Societies have elegant and convenient churches where seats may be purchased annually at Auction upon perfectly equal competition." Three-fourths of the interest could not be secured.[31] So in 1827 the Society made the attempt again, fixing the measure of assent requisite, at two-thirds of the interest involved. This plan so far succeeded that in 1828 the Society authorized a committee to borrow eighteen thousand dollars for the purchase of such pews as could be had on the terms proposed, which pews were to be thereafter annually rented for the benefit of the Society. But not all the pews could be so purchased. Some of their owners and occupants, furthermore, were not legal members of the Society. And thus many pews regularly filled by worshipers in the congregation, escaped all contribution to ministerial support or to parish expenditures. To meet this difficulty the Society voted, in March 1838, to apply to the Legislature for power to tax the pews and slips in the meeting-house generally, for the expenses of the Society.

But the matter dragged along, a source of annoyance and of recrimination, till 1847, at which time the Society was able to put an end to the long difficulty by the passage of the following vote:

"Voted: that to aid in the support of Public worship in this Society for the year ensuing there be raised by Assessment upon the Pews and Slips in the Meeting House the sum of Twenty-five Hundred dollars; and the Society's Committee are authorized and directed to assess the same upon the respective pews and slips in proportion to their

[31] The paper is still extant bearing the signatures of those who did agree to this proposal; they are the names of the leading members of the congregation of the period, headed almost of course by Daniel Wadsworth.

value as they may estimate the same, and the sum so assessed shall be payable to the Treasurer on the 6th day of March next: and if in any case it becomes necessary to enforce the payment, the Committee are authorized and directed to pursue the steps pointed out by the Law entitled 'An Act in Addition to an Act relating to Religious Societies and Congregations' approved June 23d, 1847."

An organ, the first used in the Church edifice, was procured by voluntary subscription in 1822. It was a small instrument, but its advent was the signal for considerably increased interest in musical affairs.[32] Nine years, however, outdated the organ in the view of the "singers," who petitioned the Society in 1831 for a new one. This in 1833 was voted by a "tax on the polls and ratable estate of the inhabitants of the Society;" and in 1835 the Society was able to celebrate the putting into its service an organ whose superiority to any then in the region was universally recognized, and which had few equals in the country.[33] Its inauguration was attended by an exhibition of its powers by Mr. George J. Webb, and by a lecture on music by Mr. Lowell Mason; and it was followed by a formal vote of thanks "to Mr. Thomas Appleton of Boston for the excellent and splendid instrument built by him for this Society."[34]

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[32] Mr. Deodatus Dutton was organist; succeeded in this service by Mr. Theodore Lyman. Mr. Lynde Olmsted was choir leader. The *Jubal Society* obtained leave to "exhibit their performances" four times a year in the meeting-house, with the privilege of taking a contribution.

[33] Samuel A. Cooper was first organist on the new instrument, and Benjamin Wade was choir leader. Mr. Cooper was succeeded, after a service of several years, by Henry W. Greatorex of London, for whose services the organ silently waited many weeks, although Mr. Albert Bull, who then conducted the vocal services of the choir, was regarded as quite able to officiate at the organ had not his extreme modesty forbidden. He had previously served as organist at the North Church. The new organ is said to have cost $4,000, inclusive of the allowance for the old one.

[34] But Mr. Ezekiel Williams found the "sub-bass" too much for his nerves, and petitioned the Society in 1837 "that the sub-bass of the Organ may be

New interest in music meant almost necessarily agitation about a new hymn-book. Dwight's edition of Watts' had been in use from near the commencement of the century, and in 1836 the Church voted to substitute for it the *Christian Psalmist.*[35] The Society however did not concur, and no change was made. Two years more saw another attempt. The Pastor, in September 1838, recommended the adoption of Worcester's revision of Watts' psalms and hymns, known as *Watts and Select*, and a committee of the Church was appointed to take the matter into consideration, but it apparently went no further.

In 1842 the subject was again brought forward and a committee of the Church, appointed May 15th, reported December 28th, recommending the adoption of *Sacred Lyrics*, a volume compiled by Rev. Dr. Beaman. This however went no further. In 1845 the change came. Both Church and Society voted in June of that year, to introduce "the edition of Psalms and Hymns recently prepared and set forth by the General Association of Connecticut."[36] And so the ten years' agitated hymn-book question found temporary repose.

In March 1831, a committee[37] was appointed to sell the old conference-room on Temple Street, and to purchase "the

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dispensed with in the morning service." The petition was referred to a committee, with what ultimate result does not appear.

[35] This action of the Church was the result of a meeting held at the North Church June 17, 1836, at which representatives of several churches were present; Dr. Hawes acted as chairman, and "the necessity of a change in our church psalmody was voted unanimously," and the *Christian Psalmist*, with equal unanimity recommended.

[36] "Psalms and Hymns for Christian Use and Worship, prepared and set forth by the General Association of Connecticut, 1845." Edited by Jeremiah Day, Bennet Tyler, E. T. Fitch, J. Hawes, and Leonard Bacon.

[37] Joseph Trumbull, Nathan Johnson, Richard Bigelow, and, subsequently, Eliphalet Averill, in place of Joseph Trumbull, were appointed the committee.

building and land owned by Messrs. Wadsworth and Terry, next north of the Meeting House;" and for so "altering and repairing the building as to accommodate the Sunday School and other meetings of the Society." The same committee was authorized furthermore to "appropriate for the purpose the Society Fund" for the support of the ministry raised in 1802,[38] and "also to raise by subscription and otherwise a sufficient sum to complete the payment." So that the latter part of 1832 saw the present conference-room finished and in use.[39]

In 1835 the Society declared that it was "expedient to lower the Galleries and Pulpit in the Meeting house," and to "alter the Pews and Slips, in the Galleries," the whole not to exceed in expense nineteen hundred dollars. In accordance with this vote the galleries came down nearly five feet, and the pulpit, which had been lowered once before, in 1816, an uncertain distance also.[40]

The year 1839 saw carpets put into the aisles for the first time.[41] 1845 took out the stoves hitherto in use and put in furnaces. 1846 saw the necessity for a new bell; and one thousand dollars were appropriated "exclusive of the old bell originally belonging to the Society," for a new one to be cast

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[38] A report was made to the Society by the committee affirming the propriety of so appropriating the fund of 1802. See *Ante*, p. 351. The exact value of the fund at this time cannot be determined. There are indications that it had not grown in accordance with the plan of the original donors, who certainly gave it for another purpose, and perhaps had decreased.

[39] The Temple Street property and subscriptions did not, however, suffice to pay the expenses, and the Society borrowed $1,600 additional of the Connecticut Missionary Society.

[40] This lowering of the galleries doubtless necessitated the removal of the canopies over the Governor's pews; unless indeed they had been previously taken away in accordance with a vote passed Jan. 7, 1831, "That the Committee of the Society be authorized, if they deem it expedient, to remove the two Canopies in or near the center of the Meeting House."

[41] At a cost of $238.

by N. P. Ames. This bell soon failed, and another was voted in January 1850, "not less than 3000 nor more than 4000 pounds" in weight. This sweet-toned bell which calls together the congregation yet, is fondly and perhaps correctly supposed to contain in it the recast material of its predecessors, inclusive of the old Newtown bell of 1632.

1849 put in a new clock into the tower, for which $700 had been previously voted. The year 1852 saw extensive alterations in the church-edifice. A recess was made for the new pulpit, which now replaced the twice-lowered one of dark-colored wood[42] built at the first erection of the house; the square pews were removed and slips substituted throughout the building; the windows in the west end were closed up, and those in the sides of the house enlarged; new furnaces introduced and gas-fixtures procured; a new arch thrown over the center of the audience-room between the supporting columns, and the building brought to substantially its present interior aspect.[43]

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[42] Fond tradition calls it Mahogany; but Dr. Dwight in describing the church (See *Travels*, Vol. i, p. 235) says: "The pulpit is of varnished wood resembling light coloured mahogany." And the construction accounts of the church edifice, including items for the pulpit, which record the purchase of Cherry planks and boards but do not speak of Mahogany, confirm the view that in all probability the material was Cherry.

[43] This was done under direction of a Committee consisting of Messrs. Calvin Day, S. P. Kendall, S. S. Ward and Erastus Smith. Ten thousand four hundred and fifty-five dollars were raised by subscription for the purpose, the names and sums subscribed being entered on the Society Records. See Appendix XIV. Mr. Day tells these two anecdotes concerning these repairs. Having himself headed the subscription for them with a thousand dollars, he took the book next to Judge Williams. The Judge put his name down for five hundred dollars, and then handing the book back to Mr. Day said: "If you will just let the old house remain as it is, I'll make it a thousand."

The large columns in the meeting-house were regarded by many as a great disadvantage, obstructing as they did, and still do, many sittings in various parts of the audience-room. Mr. Day consulted an eminent architect as to the practicability of their removal. "Can you take them out?" he inquired. "O yes, certainly," was the answer. "What should you do then?" was the next

But the Pastor who had seen all these and some subsequent minor changes, gradually aged. Revivals had attended his later as well as his earlier years. One in 1858, as has been already said, added many members to the Church. But the work was getting heavy for hands which had carried it so long. In January 1862 Dr. Hawes wrote a long letter to the Church and Society, in which he avowed his conviction "that duty to myself and to you requires a change in the relation I have so long sustained . . . The burden I have borne so long presses too heavily . . . Whatever action you may take in the premises after due deliberation, you may count on my cheerful concurrence in it." The Society at its meeting January 27th, received the Pastor's communication, and after recording its intention to make a "suitable annual provision for Dr. Hawes," voted :

"That it is the desire of this Society with the concurrence of Dr. Hawes to proceed to call and settle a new minister ; Dr. Hawes still retaining his pastoral relation to us but without its responsibility ; and we desire to take measures to bring about that event ; and that, further, it is not our pleasure to settle a mere colleague."

Dr. Hawes replied to the Society in a very long letter dated February 3, 1862. In this letter he expresses non-concurrence with the Society on the colleague question ; argues at great length the advantageous character of such ministerial relationships ; appeals to the example of the association of Hooker and Stone as illustrating the happy possibilities of such a connection ; recalls the fact that the Society was in search of a colleague for Dr. Strong when death interposed to prevent the consummation of the arrangement ; answers the objection that colleague pastorates are often

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question. "Then ; O, then I should put them back again," was the architect's reply. The columns were not disturbed.

unhappy, by saying that marriage relationships are often so, yet that marriage is not thereby proved essentially unwise; and avows that the position of *pastor emeritus* proposed by the Society is "a change greater than [he] could at present desire."

The well-disciplined Society yielded; and voted, Feb. 7th,

"To call and settle an Associate pastor; it being understood that Dr. Hawes shall retain his pastoral relation to us, but shall be relieved of its duties and responsibilities, which duties and responsibilities are to rest upon the Junior Pastor; while it is desired and expected by us that Dr. Hawes will render such assistance to the junior pastor as his health and strength will permit and circumstances require."

In pursuance of this amicable arrangement Mr. Phineas Wolcott Calkins was invited by Church vote July 31st, 1862, and by Society vote Aug. 4th, to settle with this Church and Society "in the gospel ministry."[44]

Mr. Calkins was ordained Associate Pastor of the Church and Society, October 21, 1862. In the exercises of the occasion the Invocation and Reading of Scriptures were by Rev. Dr. Vermilye; Introductory Prayer, Rev. President Woolsey; Sermon by Rev. Professor Phelps of Andover, Mass.; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. J. F. Calkins of Willsboro', Penn.; Charge to the Pastor by the Rev. Dr. Hawes; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. L. L. Paine of Farmington; Address to the People by Rev. Professor Dwight; Concluding Prayer by Rev. Eben^r. Cutler of Worcester, Mass.; Benediction by the Associate Pastor, Mr. Calkins.

The young minister thus joined with Dr. Hawes was born at Painted Post (now Corning) New York, June 10, 1831.

[44] The Society voted, at the same date, to pay Dr. Hawes $2,000 *per annum*, till a new minister was installed, and thereafter $1,200. The salary voted to Mr. Calkins was $2,000.

He graduated at Yale College in 1856; was engaged in teaching from 1856 to 1859; admitted to the middle class at Union Theological Seminary in 1859; continued theological study at Halle in Germany and in France in 1860–1862. He was never "licensed" as a preacher.

Mr. Calkins entered upon his ministry with zeal and general acceptance. Gifted with a winning and effective utterance his congregations were large and his preaching successful in winning souls. He labored with special earnestness and utility in connection with the Mission services held in Washington Hall on State Street, which subsequently became merged in the Warburton Mission in Temple Street.

But for some reason or other the relationship of the two Pastors was not attended by all the harmony which, in his depicting of the ideal colleagueship, Dr. Hawes had anticipated. On April 29, 1864, Mr. Calkins resigned his associate pastorate. On the 5th of May following, Dr. Hawes communicated his own resignation, desiring to retain only the nominal connection of *Pastor Emeritus*. The Church and Society voted "unanimously" to accept the resignation of Dr. Hawes, and not to accept that of Mr. Calkins. On the 17th of May, an Ecclesiastical Council convened to take the question of Mr. Calkins' resignation into consideration, but during its deliberation the case was withdrawn. Re-assembled however by call on the 6th of July, Mr. Calkins was dismissed; both Church and Society however putting on record — together with a warm testimony of confidence and affection—a declaration of inability to find adequate cause for sundering the relationship.[45]

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[45] Mr. Calkins, after leaving Hartford, became pastor of Calvary Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Nov. 20, 1864 until Oct 29, 1866; then pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, Nov. 18, 1866 until February 1, 1880; then

Left in his position as *Emeritus* Pastor of the Church, Dr. Hawes continued in that relationship nearly three years. There can be no doubt of the fact, and no utility in disguising it, that the events connected with the severance of his active relations to his people were exceedingly trying to him. He had not the power which some men possess of adjusting himself to unwelcome circumstances. He felt himself in some degree injured and deserted. But time softened the severity of the emotion. His relations to his successor, installed about six months later, were cordial and grew to be paternal. He preached occasionally in the pulpit which was once his own; he ministered at the bed-side of the sick, and buried sometimes the dead.

In the vacant pulpits of the neighborhood, also, his voice was often heard proclaiming the old message of the gospel. It was in an absence from home on one of these occasions that he sickened and died. He preached at Gilead June 2, 1867; in the morning from the fourth verse of the thirty-ninth Psalm; *Lord, make me to know mine end, and the measure of my days what it is, that I may know how frail I am;*" and in the afternoon from Matthew, twenty-fifth chapter, thirty-second verse: "*And before him shall be gathered all nations; and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats.*" Taken ill the same evening, he died on Wednesday morning, June 5, 1867, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. His wife, between whom and himself there had always existed an unusual degree of the affection and dependence belonging to the relationship,

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pastor of Eliot Church, Newton, Mass., Feb. 5, 1880, where he still is. He received the degree of Doctor in Divinity from Hamilton College in 1877. Dr. Calkins has written for the press various articles in *McClintock and Strong's Cyclopedia*, the *Presbyterian Quarterly* and public journals.

speedily followed him, dying three days afterward.[46] All his children, six in number, had died before him, most of them in childhood. His son Erskine[47] had attained manhood; had entered the ministry; and was the pastor of the church in Plymouth, when suddenly taken away by an accident in the father's seventy-first year.

The funeral services of the old Pastor were attended in the church of his long ministry on Saturday afternoon, June 8th; Rev. President Woolsey of Yale College, preaching the sermon. Two other sermons suggested by his life and death were preached by Hartford pastors; one by Rev. E. P. Parker of the Second Church, and the other by Rev. George H. Gould, the successor of Dr. Hawes in the First Church ministry. His remains were deposited in the North burying-ground beside those of his predecessor, Dr. Strong.[48]

So passed away one of the strongest and best ministers ever settled in the pastorate of this Church or of Connecticut. Not a man of inventive, original genius, but of strong, practical intellect, sound judgment, fervent emotions, sincere piety and genial disposition, he exerted a moral influence in the community and the State equaled by almost no one beside. A rugged and vigorous natural eloquence, a

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[46] The address at the funeral of Mrs. Hawes was spoken by Rev. Dr. N. J. Burton, then pastor of the Fourth Church.

[47] Erskine Joel Hawes, born at Hartford July 23, 1829; admitted member of First Church by profession, June, 1848; graduated at Yale College in 1851; at Andover Seminary in 1855; ordained Pastor at Plymouth, Conn., January 19, 1858; killed by the kick of his horse, July 8, 1860. A memoir of Mr. Hawes was written by his mother, and published by Robert Carter and Brothers, New York, 1863.

[48] Dr. Hawes left $1,500 as a permanent fund, the interest of which was to be annually divided between the American Board of Foreign Missions and the American Home Missionary Society. The bulk of his property (about $40,000) was bequeathed, after the use of it by his wife, to the children by a second marriage of Rev. H. J. Van Lennep, the husband of his daughter Mary.

large and generous kindness of nature, a wise and solid sense of temporal and moral values, an undaunted courage and unconquerable will, united to make him a man respected; while his tenderness of feeling and responsiveness to the gentler and the sadder phases of human need, made him a man beloved. Of singular simplicity of character, his life was consecrated to his work, and in it he had great success. Few are they whose words and deeds have turned as many to righteousness as Joel Hawes.

CHAPTER XV.

NOTES OF LATER DAYS.

About two and a half years before Dr. Hawes' death Rev. George H. Gould was installed in the vacant pastorate. Mr. Gould was born at Oakham, Mass., February 20, 1827. He graduated at Amherst College in 1850, and at Union Theological Seminary in 1853; served as acting pastor of several churches, mainly at the West, till his ordination, November 13, 1862. He had charge as acting pastor of the Olivet Church in Springfield, Mass., in 1863 and '64. In the autumn of 1864 he was invited to the pastorate of the First Church in Hartford, the Church action being taken November 14th, and the Society November 16th. The public exercises of the installation took place December 14th, the various parts being thus assigned: Invocation, Rev. Dr. Vermilye, of the Connecticut Theological Institute; Reading of Scripture, Rev. H. M. Parsons of Springfield; Introductory Prayer, Rev. Dr. S. W. S. Dutton of New Haven; Sermon by Rev. Prof. Henry B. Smith of Union Theological Seminary, New York; Installing Prayer, Rev. Dr. Hawes; Charge, Rev. S. G. Buckingham of Springfield; Right Hand of Fellowship, Rev. J. L. Jenkins of the Pearl Street Church; Address to the People, Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon of New Haven; Benediction by the Pastor.

Mr. Gould's ministry was not destined to be a protracted one, but it was a profitable one in the history of the Church.

His eloquent utterances aroused enthusiasm and were blessed to the awakening and conversion of not a few. One hundred and six united with the Church by confession of faith, and one hundred and sixty-two by letter in the five years and ten months of his pastorate.

During Mr. Gould's pastorate the old minister Dr. Hawes, between whom and the younger man had existed the kindest relations, died, and the Society in 1868 purchased his library for the use of his successors in office, and his house for a parsonage.[1]

It has been mentioned hitherto[2] that a Mission had been for a considerable while sustained by the members of the First Church and Society, in the eastern part of the city.

In 1865 Mrs. Mary A. Warburton built, at a cost of $18,298, a chapel upon Temple street, on land purchased by the subscriptions of individual members of the First Church for $3,450. A charter for the school was secured in May 1866. In 1869 the Society by formal vote, August 27th, took this Mission under its care, in accordance with the terms of the will of Mrs. Warburton which bequeathed ten thousand dollars, the income of which was to be employed for the maintenance of preaching services in the chapel on condition that an equal annual amount should be contributed by the Society. Mrs. Warburton's will also gave the Society three thousand dollars as a Fund for a Teacher's Library in the Sunday-school of the First Church. In accordance with the vote adopting the Mission, ministerial services were employed at Warburton Chapel.

The health of the Pastor was so precarious that on June

[1] Dr. Hawes' Will left provision for the disposal of the library to the Society for $75. The house was purchased of his estate for $7,500.

[2] *Ante*, p. 399.

14th, 1869, he communicated his resignation to the Church, which voted that he be requested to recall it, tendering him the assurance of assistance in his labor. The resignation was then recalled; but on Sept. 19th, 1870, it was renewed and most reluctantly accepted. The Council which officially recognized the termination of the mutually happy relationship of Pastor and people convened on Oct. 11, 1870.[3]

In February 1871 a call to the pastorate was extended to Rev. Dr. Wm. H. Lord[4] of Montpelier, Vermont; the Church voting on the 20th of the month, and the Society on the 24th. The overture was, however, declined.

More than a year elapsed in unsuccessful quest of a pastor when, on March 18th and 19th, 1872, the Church and Society respectively invited to the vacant office the Rev. Elias H. Richardson, then of Westfield, Mass.

The invitation being accepted Mr. Richardson was duly installed, April 24th, 1872. In the services of the occasion the Invocation was offered by Rev. Myron S. Morris of West Hartford; Scripture was read by Rev. A. C. Adams of Wethersfield; Prayer was offered by Rev. C. L. Goodell of New Britain; Sermon by Rev. George Leon Walker of New Haven; Installing Prayer by Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon of New Haven; Charge to Pastor by Rev. Dr. G. H. Gould of Worcester; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. W. L. Gage

[3] Since leaving Hartford Dr. Gould has never assumed the duties of an installed pastor. He has, however, quite continuously supplied various pulpits, and stood in the relation of acting pastor to the Piedmont Church in Worcester, Mass., from 1872 to 1876, and to the Union Church in the same city from 1878 to 1880. He at present resides in Worcester. He received the degree of Doctor in Divinity from Amherst College in 1870, while still pastor in Hartford.

[4] Rev. William Hayes Lord, D.D.; born at Amherst, N. H., 1824; graduated at Dartmouth College, 1843; and Andover Seminary, 1846; ordained pastor at Montpelier, Vt., Sept. 20, 1847; continuing pastor there till his death, March 18, 1877.

of Pearl Street Church; Address to People by Rev. Dr. N. J. Burton of Park Church; Benediction by the Pastor.

Mr. Richardson was born at Lebanon, N. H., Aug. 11, 1827, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1850, and at Andover in 1853. He was Pastor, successively, at Goffstown and Andover, N. H., Providence, R. I., and Westfield, Mass. He came to this pastorate in his forty-fifth year of age, and fulfilled in it a most laborious and faithful ministry of about six years and eight months.

The situation of affairs in the old First Society was not without its difficulties. For years the tendency of population had been to other parts of the town at a distance from the church edifice. This had been a source of anxiety to Dr. Hawes in his later days. It could hardly fail to be so to Dr. Hawes' successors who saw the tendency increasing annually. The vacancy in the pastorate, for more than a year after Dr. Gould's removal, witnessed the withdrawal to churches nearer their new dwelling-places of some families whose religious home had been under the old roof. The difficulty is one which is incident to the geographical situation of the old Society, and cannot fail to be an important factor in its future history. Mr. Richardson addressed himself to the problem of holding the old and winning the new with energy. He had somewhat special gifts for attracting the young and for drawing to himself those toward whom life was accustomed to show the shadier rather than the sunnier side. He was unwearied in his endeavors to be of use, to be a helper, and to be so especially to the poor.

The records of the Church show the results of his faithful endeavors. One hundred and sixty were added to its membership by profession during his pastorate, and one hundred and eighteen by letter.

To meet the long-felt want of a more convenient place for social gatherings and for the smaller evening meetings of the congregation, the Society in 1875, at an expense of about six thousand dollars raised by voluntary subscription, erected a new building abutting upon the old conference house, to supply the important need. In 1873, also, an extension of the Warburton Chapel building, designed for the use of the primary department of the school, was built under the superintendency of Messrs. George C. and Edward H. Perkins, at an expense of $2,900, bequeathed by Mrs. Charles Hosmer for this purpose.

During Dr.[5] Richardson's pastorate occurred the series of meetings held in Hartford under the leadership of Mr. D. L. Moody and subsequently of Rev. George H. Pentecost, in the winter of 1877–8. In connection with these meetings and partly as their direct consequence a large numerical accession was made to the membership of the Hartford churches. About seventy-five names were added to the roll of this Church as such result.

Dr. Richardson left the marks of his own earnest sincerity deeply engraved on many of the younger members of this fellowship, who first of all think of him when they think of their guide to Christian living. He was a man of quick and keen intellectual perceptions, of warm and impulsive feelings, of delicate sensibilities and devout piety. Something however in an original temperamental contrast between the Pastor and the people, discreditable to neither, but preventive of the fullest satisfaction possible to both, made the relationship less congenial in some of its aspects, than is occasionally the case.

[5] He received the degree of Doctor in Divinity during his pastorate here, from Dartmouth College in 1876.

In December 1878, Dr. Richardson resigned his pastorate here to accept that of the First Church in New Britain, which had been tendered him. He was dismissed here on the 23d of that month, and installed there January 7, 1879.

His pastorate at New Britain was eminently useful and happy. He was cut off from it in the full prime of his vigor and success, dying honored and beloved on the 27th of June 1883, and being buried among the people of his latest pastoral charge. A funeral address on that occasion was pronounced by Rev. N. J. Burton, D.D., of this city, and on the following Sabbath a biographical discourse concerning Dr. Richardson's life and character was delivered in the Pearl Street Church by Rev. Dr. W. L. Gage. He was the first of the ministers of this Church to die elsewhere than in Hartford or to be buried elsewhere than in Hartford soil.

A memorial volume, compiled by a committee of the First Church in New Britain, printed shortly after his death for circulation among his friends, fitly enshrines the memory of a good man and a faithful minister of Jesus Christ.

The present Pastor was installed February 27, 1879.[6]

Among the incidents which may be mentioned as having occurred during the existing pastorate, is the payment in the autumn of 1879 of the long accumulating debt of the Society, then amounting to about $23,000,—a debt going back in considerable portion to the purchase of pews by the Society, beginning in 1828.[7]

[6] The public exercises of the occasion were held in the afternoon of the day, and were as follows: Reading the Result of the Council, by Rev. E. C. Starr, of the Wethersfield Avenue Church; Scripture Reading and Prayer, Rev. E. Y. Hincks, Portland, Me.; Sermon (afterwards published) by Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon of New Haven, from *Rev.* ii, 13; Installing Prayer, Rev. Dr. N. J. Burton; Charge, Rev. Prof. W. M. Barbour of Yale College; Fellowship of the Churches, Rev. Dr. E. P. Parker; Address to People, Rev. Dr. G. H. Gould; Prayer, Rev. Dr. E. H. Richardson of New Britain; Benediction by the Pastor.

[7] *Ante*, p. 392. A list of the subscribers to the extinguishment of this debt may be found in Appendix XV.

New windows of stained glass were introduced throughout the church edifice in the autumn of 1880; and on Easter Sabbath morning, in April 1881, a large memorial window back of the pulpit, the gift of Mr. Samuel Hamilton, was first beheld.[8]

Early in 1883 the attention of the Church and Society was directed to the propriety of the due celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the organization of the Church, and committees on the subject were appointed. A strong degree of interest in the subject was developed, and the occasion was regarded as affording opportunity for securing certain renovations of the appearance of the church edifice and conference-room, which were deemed desirable. Liberal contributions were given for the object and both interiors were tastefully and beautifully frescoed.[9] The question of a new organ had been referred by the Society to a committee at the annual meeting of this year, but all necessity of effort was superseded by the generous offer of Mrs. Leonard Church, to present one as a memorial of herself and her husband to the Society. This liberal purpose was carried out at an expense to that lady of $15,000. The beautiful old mahogany case of the organ of 1835 was retained.[10]

Hon. Julius Catlin caused about the same time the insertion of a beautiful memorial window.

These and various other preparations having been made in the summer months of 1883, the commemorative celebra-

[8] Mr. Hamilton died on the May 11th following, aged 82 years.

[9] These improvements were carried out under the direction of the Society's committee, Messrs. W. W. House, J. C. Parsons, and C. A. Jewell.

[10] The organ was built by Mr. Hilborne L. Roosevelt of New York, and certain particulars concerning the really magnificent instrument may be found in Appendix XVI.

tion of the organization of the Church took place, with entire satisfaction to the members of the congregation and the large number of invited guests, on October 11th and 12th. A full report of the proceedings appeared in the *Courant* of the 12th and 13th, and a handsome memorial volume containing them in a form suited to permanent preservation, and illustrated by various heliotype engravings, was soon after published at the cost of the subscribed celebration fund.[11]

One of the most saddening considerations arising from such a retrospect as has been attempted in the foregoing pages, is the inevitable necessity of passing over unrecorded the faithfulness and devotion of a multitude whose lives have been woven into the life of this ancient Church. It touches one with a sense of pathos and almost of anger to think how much of sweetness and nobleness in private piety in all these years; how much of faithfulness and self-sacrifice, of parental solicitude and of individual consecrated endeavor in the brotherhood of this Church has been passed over untold; nay, has perished utterly from human remembrance. The deeds, the experiences, the hopes, the cares, and even the names of this two-and-a-half-century companionship are, and must forever remain, unknown.

But unrecorded in the memories of men, they abide in the better registry of His mind and heart who in all this duration has been this Church's guide and head.

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[11] For the *Order of Exercises* on the occasion of the celebration see Appendix XVII. That programme will indicate to a large extent the contents of the memorial volume. All the addresses and papers were printed in it, together with an account of *Preliminary Proceedings* on the part of Church and Society; *Letters of Invited Guests;* and Heliotype *Illustrations* of the *Exterior* and *Interior* of the *Present Church Edifice*, the *Old Burying Ground*, and the *Charter Oak;* to which were added also *Card of Invitation*, a copy of *Porter's Map of Hartford in* 1640, and *Portraits* of Pastors Strong, Hawes, Calkins, Gould, Richardson, and Walker. The volume is of 215 pages, and six hundred copies were printed.

What the future of this Church's history is to be, only time can unfold. Certain obvious facts make the course of events even harder to forecast than is sometimes the case. The tendency of population away from the old central portion of the town seems destined to increase. The numbers of elderly men and women in the congregation who cannot long remain, but who in their regretted departure will leave no lineal representatives behind them, is certainly quite unusual in churches of younger history.

Meantime, with a membership of about five hundred and fifty, enriched still with new blood from the old veins and by accessions from the community around; possessed yet as a Society of large though of diminished wealth and rich with the traditions of the past, there is no occasion for these pages to conclude in a somber strain. Piety and liberality still have their home in the old fellowship. Faithful laborers in the Sabbath [12] and Mission School [13] are still untiring in their work. The past, though in much of it an occasion of reasonable pride, is not an experience to be repeated or to be desired could it come again. The kingdom of God is yet future. And for a share in the labor and faith which looks for it and hastens its approach, the old First Church of Hartford may be trusted still to claim an inherited and a loyally appropriated right.

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[12] It is certainly worthy of record that the infant class of the Sunday-School, still large and flourishing, has been for forty-four years under the charge of one faithful laborer, Mrs. Amelia W. Brown; thus loved and honored by successive generations of the young of the Church.

[13] The altered character of the population in the vicinity of Warburton Chapel has demonstrated (after repeated experiments) the impossibility of maintaining successfully, formal preaching services in accordance with the precise terms of Mrs. Warburton's bequest. As a mission field, however, the needs were never greater. With altered character the work is and will continue to be carried on. Nor was it ever more earnestly prosecuted than under the leadership of the Superintendent, who now for some years has given to it so much of time, money, and care—Mr. Daniel R. Howe.

PASTORS AND CHURCH OFFICERS.

PASTORS.

Rev. Thomas Hooker was ordained Pastor October 11, 1633, and died July 7, 1647, in the 61st year of his age, having served the Church thirteen years and nine months.

Rev. Samuel Stone was ordained Teacher October 11, 1633, and died July 20, 1663, in his 61st year, having served the Church twenty-nine years and nine months, of which thirteen years and nine months were in connection with Mr. Hooker; thirteen years he had sole charge of the Church, and about three years in connection with his associate and successor, Rev. John Whiting.

Rev. John Whiting was ordained colleague with Mr. Stone early in 1660, and served the Church ten years, till February 22, 1670, when he became Pastor of the Second Church in Hartford. Of the ten years of Mr. Whiting's service, about three were in connection with Rev. Mr. Stone; three years he was sole Pastor, and four years were in connection with his associate and successor Rev. Mr. Haynes. He died November 1689, aged 50 years.

Rev. Joseph Haynes was ordained colleague with Mr. Whiting sometime in 1664, and died May 24, 1679, aged 38 years. He served the Church fifteen years, four years in connection with Mr. Whiting, and eleven as sole Pastor.

Rev. Isaac Foster was ordained Pastor early in 1680, and died August 20, 1682, aged about 30 years, having served the Church two years and some months.

Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, after having ministered to the congregation more than two years, was ordained Pastor November 1685, and died April 30, 1732, aged 79 years, having sustained the Pastoral relation forty-six years and six months, and ministered to the Church nearly forty-nine years.

Rev. Daniel Wadsworth was ordained Pastor September 28, 1732, and died November 12, 1747, in the 43d year of his age, having served the Church fifteen years and two months.

Rev. Edward Dorr was ordained Pastor April 27, 1748, and died October 20, 1772, in his 50th year, having served the Church twenty-four years and five months.

Rev. Nathan Strong was ordained Pastor January 5, 1774, and died December 25, 1816, in the 69th year of his age, having served the Church forty-two years and eleven months.

Rev. Joel Hawes was ordained Pastor March 4, 1818; resigned the Pastoral care May 5, 1864; and died June 5, 1867, in the 78th year of his age, having sustained pastoral relations to the Church forty-nine years and three months, of which period he was sole Pastor forty-four years and seven months, senior Pastor one year and six months, and *Pastor emeritus* three years.

Rev. Wolcott Calkins was ordained Associate Pastor with Dr. Hawes October 22, 1862, and dismissed July 6, 1864, having served the Church as Associate Pastor one year and nine months.

Rev. George H. Gould was installed Pastor December 14, 1864, and dismissed October 11, 1870, having served the Church five years and ten months.

Rev. Elias H. Richardson was installed Pastor April 24, 1872, and dismissed January 1, 1879, having served the Church six years and eight months.

Rev. George Leon Walker was installed Pastor February 27, 1879.

RULING ELDER.

William Goodwin, in office, it is supposed, October 11, 1633, and who removed from Hartford in 1660, and died in March, 1673.

DEACONS.

Andrew Warner, in office October 1633, removed to Hadley, Mass. with Elder Goodwin, in 1660, where he died, 1684.
Edward Stebbins, died August 1668.
Joseph Mygat, died 1680, aged 84.
Richard Butler, died August 1684.
Paul Peck, chosen April 1691, died December 1695, aged 87.
Joseph Easton, chosen April 1691, died January 1712.
Joseph Olmstead, chosen April 1691, died November 1726.
John Sheldon, chosen 1712, died February 1734.
John Shepherd, chosen 1712, died March 1736.
Thomas Richards, chosen 1712, died April 1749, aged 83.
Nathaniel Goodwin, chosen March 1734, died March 1747, aged 79.
John Edwards, chosen March 1734, died May 1769, aged 73.
Joseph Talcott, chosen December 1748, died November 1799, aged 98

Ozias Goodwin, chosen January 1756, died January 1776, aged 87.
Daniel Goodwin, chosen 1769, died January 1772, aged 67.
Benjamin Payne, died January 1782, aged 54.
John Shepard, died April 1789, aged 80.
Solomon Smith, died April 1786, aged 52.
Caleb Bull, died February 1797, aged 51.
Ezra Corning, died July 1816, aged 79.
Isaac Bull, chosen 1789, died November 1824, aged 84.
Joseph Steward, chosen 1797, died April 1822, aged 69.
Aaron Chapin, chosen October 1813, died December 1838, aged 85.
Aaron Colton, chosen October 1813, died June 1840, aged 81.
Josiah Beckwith, chosen October 1813, died January 1827, aged 64.
Russell Bunce, chosen November 1821, died April 1846, aged 69.
William W. Ellsworth, chosen November 1821, died January 1868, aged 79.
William W. Turner, chosen September 1828, resigned October 1852.
Thomas S. Williams, chosen October 1836, died December 1861, aged 84.
Thomas Smith, chosen March 1838, resigned October 1852.
Melvin Copeland, chosen September 1840, died March 1866, aged 69.
John Beach, chosen August 1844, resigned October 1852.
Lewis Weld, chosen November 1846, died December 1853, aged 57.
Samuel S. Ward, chosen November 1852, died December 1879, aged 78.
Bryan E. Hooker, chosen November 1852, resigned March 1874.
Loyal Wilcox, chosen January 1854, resigned January 1861.
George W. Corning, chosen January 1854.
Samuel M. Capron, chosen February 1861, left by letter July 1866.
Collins Stone, chosen December 1863, died December 1870, aged 58.
Daniel W. Brigham, chosen December 1863, left by letter June 1870.
Rowland Swift, chosen May 1867, resigned February 1874.
Homer Blanchard, chosen November 1869.
Lucius Barbour, chosen November 1869, died February 1873, aged 67.
William S. Hurd, chosen March 1874, died July 1876, aged 67.
William W. House, chosen March 1874, term expired 1878.
Henry P. Stearns, chosen March 1874, term expired 1879.
William H. Miller, chosen March 1874, term expired 1880.
John Allen, chosen March 1878, term expired 1884.
William W. House, chosen January 1879, term expired 1882.
Daniel R. Howe, chosen February 1880, term expired 1881.
Henry P. Stearns, chosen February 1880, term expired 1883.
Rowland Swift, chosen February 1881.
Henry E. Taintor, chosen February 1882.
W. W. House, chosen February 1883.
Samuel M. Hotchkiss, chosen February 1884.

PRUDENTIAL COMMITTEE.

[Committee constituted by vote of Church September 7, 1821.]

Russell Bunce, chosen September 1821, chosen deacon 1821.
William W. Ellsworth, chosen September 1821, chosen deacon 1821.
Normand Smith, chosen September 1821, left office 1823.
Caleb Goodwin, chosen September 1821, left office 1823.
James R. Woodbridge, chosen September 1821, left office 1823.
Henry Hudson, chosen September 1821, left office 1841.
William Watson, chosen January 1824, left office November 1836.
Peter Thatcher, chosen January 1824, left office 1845.
Eli Gilman, chosen January 1824, left office 1842.
Roderick Terry, chosen January 1824, left office 1832.
Robert Anderson, chosen January 1824, left office 1832.
Melvin Copeland, chosen January 1832, left office 1835.
James R. Woodbridge, chosen January 1832, left office 1837.
Lewis Weld, chosen February 1835, left office 1838.
Edward Goodwin, chosen January 1837, died October 1883.
Thomas Smith, chosen January 1837, chosen deacon 1838.
Barzillai Hudson, chosen March 1838, left office 1871.
Whiting Hollister, chosen March 1838, left office 1843.
John Beach, chosen January 1842, chosen deacon 1844.
Calvin Day, chosen January 1843.
Bela Turner, chosen January 1844, left office 1845.
Henry A. Perkins, chosen January 1845, left office 1866.
James M. Bunce, chosen January 1846, left office 1852.
John O. Pitkin, chosen January 1846, left office 1851.
Collins Stone, chosen January 1851, left office 1852.
Charles A. Goodrich, chosen January 1853, left office 1858.
William W. House, chosen January 1853, chosen deacon 1874.
Loyal Wilcox, chosen January 1853, chosen deacon 1854.
Leonard Church, chosen January 1859, left office 1872.
Lucius Barbour, chosen February 1866, chosen deacon 1869.
Alfred R. Skinner, chosen February 1870, left office 1879.
William S. Hurd, chosen February 1872, chosen deacon 1874.
James P. Foster, chosen February 1873, left office 1876.
George Roberts, chosen February 1875, left office 1878.
William M. Hudson, chosen February 1875.
John Allen, chosen February 1876, chosen deacon 1878.
Samuel M. Hotchkiss, chosen March 1878, chosen deacon 1884.
Melancthon Storrs, chosen March 1879.
Francis B. Cooley, chosen March 1880.
Daniel H. Wells, chosen February 1884.
George R. Shepherd, chosen February 1884.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

(SEE PAGE 87.)

ORIGINAL PROPRIETORS AND SETTLERS.

The names which follow are taken from a list in the handwriting of John Allyn, and certified to by him on the Town Records in 1665, which list was by him copied from a record made in 1639, now only partially decipherable, giving the names of "The proprietors of the undivided lands in Hartford." The figures annexed to the names are *in part* transferred from the original first record, and express the amount of land allotted in divisions made at two different times, according to the "proportions payed for the purchass of sayd lands."

Mr. John Haines,	200.	John Crow,	40, 20.
Mr. George Willis,	200.	John Moodey,	40.
Mr. Edward Hopkins,	120.	Thomas Standley,	42.
Mr. Thomas Wells,	100.	Timothy Standley,	36, 32.
Mr. John Webster,	100.	Edward Stebbing,	28, 24.
Mr. Thomas Hooker,	80.	Andrew Bacon,	28.
Mr. Samuel Stone,	40.	John Bernard,	24.
Mr. Wm. Goodwine,	56.	Gregory Winterton,	28.
Mr. Wm. Whittinge,	100.	Samuel Wakeman,	35, 30.
Mr. Matthew Allyn,	110.	William Gibbons,	22, 20.
Mr. John Tallcott,	90	John Pratt,	26.
James Olmsteed,	75, 70.	Richard Goodman,	26.
William Westwood,	80.	Nathaniel Elly,	20, 18.
William Pantrey,	85, 80.	William Ruscoe,	35, 32.
Andrew Warner,	84.	James Ensigne,	24.
John Steele,	50, 48.	John Hopkins,	26, 24.
Nathaniel Warde,	56, 60.	George Steele,	26.
John White,	50.	Steven Post,	30, 24.
William Wadsworth,	52.	Thomas Judd,	25, 20.
Thomas Hosmore,	58, 60.	Thomas Birchwood,	26.
Thomas Scott,	42.	John Clarke,	28, 22.
William Lewis,	40, 38.	Matthew Marvell,	30, 28.
William Spencer,	30, 40.	William Butler,	28.
William Andrewes,	33, 30.	Thomas Lord,	28.
Steven Heart,	40.	John Skinner,	22, 10.

John Marsh,	24, 12.	Thomas Stanton,	16, 14.
Richard Lord,	18.	Thomas Hales,	10.
Richard Webb,	30.	Zachary Field,	10.
John Maynard,	14.	Thomas Roote,	8, 6.
William Kellsey,	16.	William Parker	13, 12.
Jeremy Adams,	30.	Seth Grant,	14.
Robert Daye,	14.	William Pratt,	8, 6.
Thomas Spencer,	15, 14.	Samuel Hales,	8.
Nathaniel Richards,	26.	Richard Olmsteed,	10, 8.
Richard Lyman,	30.	John Baysey,	14.
Joseph Mygatt,	20.	Joseph Easton,	10.
William Blumfield,	16.	Thomas Selden,	6.
Richard Butler,	16.	Frances Andrewes	10, 12.
George Grave,	24.	Richard Church,	20, 12.
Arthur Smith,	14.	William Hide,	20, 18.
William Hill,	20.	Richard Wrisley,	8.
Thomas Olcok,	32, 8.	William Holton,	12.
James Coale,	12, 10.	Robert Bartlett,	8.
John Arnold,	16.	Edward Elmer,	14, 12.
Thomas Bull,	14, 12.	Jonathan Ince.	
George Stocking,	20.	John Cullick,	58, 30.
William Heyden,	14.	John Higginson,	12.
Nicholas Clarke,	13, 12.		

There was another class of settlers, concerning whom Mr. Allyn, before recording their names, makes the following entry: "The names of such inhabitants as were granted lotts to have onely at the town's courtesie, with liberty to fetch wood and keepe swine or cowes on the Common."

John Brunson,	10, 3.	Hosea Goodwin,	10, 6.
John Warner,	6.	Robert Wade,	6, 4.
William Cornwell,	8.	John Olmsteed,	4, 3.
Thomas Woodford,	8, 6.	Benjamin Munn,	8.
John Biddell,	6, 4.	Daniel Garwood,	6.
Ralph Keylor,	6.	John Hall,	6.
Thomas Lord, Jr.,	6.	John Morrice,	8, 6.
John Hollaway,	6.	Nathaniel Barding,	6.
Nathaniel Kellog,	6, 4.	John Ginnings,	6.
Thomas Barnes,	6.	Paul Pecke,	8.
Richard Seymour,		George Hubbard,	6.
John Purcasse,	6.	Thomas Blisse,	6.
William Phillips,	8, 6.	Thomas Blisse, Jr.,	4.
Nicholas Disbroe,	6.	Edward Lay,	6.
Benjamin Burre,	6.	Thomas Gridley,	6.

John Sables,	6.	Henry Walkley,	4.
John Pierce,	4, 3.	Thomas Upson,	4.
Giles Smith,	8.	Widdowe Betts,	4.
Richard Watts,	8, 6.	Thomas Bunce,	13.
William Westley,	8, 6.	William Watts,	4.
Thomas Richards,	8.		

In addition to the above, it appears to be in evidence that the following named persons owned lots previous to 1639, or took the shares of some of the foregoing persons on forfeiture at a period shortly later:

Bartholomew Greene,	Samuel Whitehead,
John Stone,	John Friend,
Samuel Greenhill,	Abram Pratt,
Clement Chapling,	Thomas Goodfellow,
Dorothy Chester,	Thomas Munson,
Thomas Beale,	Thomas Hongerforth,
Thomas Fisher,	Reynold Marvin.

APPENDIX II.

(SEE PAGE 115.)

THOMAS HOOKER'S WILL AND INVENTORY OF ESTATE.

The last Will and Testament of Mr. Thomas Hooker, late of Hartford, deceased.

I, Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, vppon Connecticutt in New England, being weake in my body, through the tender visitation of the Lord, but of sound and perfect memory, doe dispose of that outward estate I haue beene betrusted withall by him, in manner following :—

I doe giue vnto my sonne John Hooker, my howsing and lands in Hartford, aforesaid, both that which is on the west and allso that w^ch^ is on the east side of the Riuer, to bee inioyed by him and his heires for euer, after the death of my wife, Susanna Hooker, provided hee bee then at the age of one and twenty yeares ; it being my will that my said deare wife shall inioye and possess my said howsing and lands during her naturall life : And if shee dye before my sonne John come to the age of one and twenty yeares, that the same bee improued by the ouerseers of this my will for the maintenance and education of my children not disposed of, according to their best discretion.

I doe allso giue vnto my sonne John, my library of printed bookes and manuscripts, vnder the limitations and provisoes hereafter expressed. It is my will that my sonne John deliuer to my sonne Samuell, so many of my bookes as shall be valued by the ouerseers of this my will to bee worth fifty pounds sterling, or that hee shall pay him the some of fifty pounds sterling to buy such bookes as may bee vseful to him in the way of his studdyes, at such time as the ouerseers of this my will shall judge meete ; but if my sonne John doe not goe on to the perfecting of his studdyes, or shall not giue vpp himselfe to the seruice of the Lord in the worke of the ministry, my will is that my sonne Samuel inioye and possesse the whole library and manuscripts, to his proper vse for euer ; onely it is my will that whateuer manuscripts shall be judged meete to be printed, the disposall thereof and advantage that may come thereby I leaue wholly to my executrix ; and in case shee departs this life before the same bee judged of and setled, then to my ouerseers to be improued by them to theire best discretion, for the good of myne, according to the trust reposed in them. And howeuer I do not forbid my sonne John

from seeking and taking a wife in England, yet I doe forbid him from marrying and tarrying there.

I doe giue vnto my sonne Samuell, in case the whole library come not to him, as is before expressed, the sum of seuenty pounds, to bee paid vnto him by my executrix at such time, and in such manner, as shall be judged meetest by the ouerseers of my will.

I doe allso giue vnto my daughter Sarah Hooker, the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, to bee paid vnto her by my executrix when she shall marry or come of the age of one and twenty yeares, w^ch^ shall first happen; the disposall and further education of her and the rest, I leaue my wife, advising them to attend her councell in the feare of the Lord.

I doe giue vnto the two children of my daughter Joannah Shepard deceased, and the childe of my daughter Mary Newton, to each of them the sum of ten pounds, to bee paid vnto them by my sonne John, within one yeare after hee shall come to the possession and inioyment of my howsings and lands in Hartford, or my sonne Samuell, if by the decease of John, hee come to inioye the same.

I doe make my beloued wife Susanna Hooker, executrix of this my last Will and Testament, and (my just debts being paid,) do giue and bequeath vnto her all my estate and goods, moueable and imouable, not formerly bequeathed by this my will. And I desire my beloued frends Mr. Edward Hopkins and Mr. William Goodwyn, to affoard theire best assistance to my wife, and doe constitute and appoint them the ouerseers of this my will. And it hauing pleased the Lord now to visitt my wife with a sicknes, and not knowing how it may please his Ma^tie^ to dispose of her, my minde and will is, that in case shee departe this life before shee dispose the estate bequeathed her, my aforesaid beloued frends, Mr. Edward Hopkins and Mr. William Goodwyn, shall take care both of the education and dispose of my children (to whose loue and faithfullnes I commend them) and of the estate left and bequeathed to my wife, and do committ it to theire best judgment and discretion to manage the said estate for the best good of mine, and to bestow it vppon any or all of them in such a proportion as shall bee most suitable to theire owne ap^r^hensions; being willing onely to intimate my desire that they w^ch^ deserue best may haue most; but not to limmitt them, but leaue them to the full scope and bredth of their owne judgments; in the dispose whereof, they may haue respect to the forementioned children of my two daughters, if they see meet. It being my full will that what trust I haue comitted to my wife, either in matter of estate, or such manuscripts as shall bee judged fitt to bee printed, in case shee liue not to order the same herselfe, bee wholly transmitted and passed ouer from her to them, for the ends before specified. And for mortallity sake, I doe put power into the hands of the forementioned beloued freinds, to constitute and appoint such other faithfull men as they shall judge meete

(in case they be depriued of life or libberty to attend to the same in theire owne persons) to manage, dispose and performe the estate and trust comitted to them, in as full manner as I haue comitted it to them for the same end.

THOMAS HOOKER.

This was declared to bee the last Will and Testament of Mr. Thomas Hooker, the seuenth day of July, 1647.
In the presence of
HENRY SMITH,
SAMUELL STONE,
JOHN WHITE.

AN INVENTORY OF THE ESTATE OF MR. THOMAS HOOKER, DECEASED, TAKEN THE 21ST APRILL, 1649.

	£	s.	d.
In the new Parlour; It.: 3 chaires, 2 stooles, 6 cushions, a clock, a safe, a table, window curtaines, &c., -	05	00	00
In the Hall; It.: a chest of drawers, and in it, 2 dozen of dishes, a pewter flagon, basons, candlesticks, sawcers, &c., - - - - - - - - -	06	00	00
It.: in ammunition, 4l. It.: in a table and forme, and 4 wheeles, 1l., - - - - - - -	[05	00	00]
In the ould Parlour; It.: 2 tables, a forme, 4 chaires, 4 stooles, 4 table carpetts, window curtaines, and-irons and doggs, &c., in the chimny, - - -	09	00	00
In the Chamber ouer that; It.: a featherbed and boulster, 2 pillowes, a strawbed, 2 blankitts, a rugg, and couerlitt, darnix hangings in 7 peeces, window curtaines, curtaines and valence to the bed, a bed-stead, 2 chaires, and three stooles, andirons, &c., in the chimny, & a courte cubberd, - - - -	14	05	00
It.: curtaines and valence to the same bed, of greene say, and a rugg of the same, with window curtaines, - - - - - - - - -	05	00	00
In the Hall Chamber; It.: a trunck of linnen, cont.: 20 p^{r} sheets, 8 table cloaths, 5 doz. napkins, 6 p^{r} of pillow beers, and towells, - - - - -	27	00	00
It.. a bedstead, two truncks, 2 boxes, a chest, & a chaire, - - - - - - - -	03	05	00

In the Kittchin Chamber; It.: a featherbed, a quilt bed, 2 blankitts, 2 couerlitts, 1 boulster, a flockbed and boulster, a rugg and blankitt, a chest & ould trunck, and a bedstead, - - - - -	12	00	00
In the Chamber ouer the new Parlour; It.: 2 featherbeds, 2 boulsters, a p^{r} of pillows, 5 blankitts and 2 ruggs, stript valence and curtaines for bed and windowes, a chest of drawers, an alarum, 2 boxes, a small trunck, 2 cases of bottles, 1 p^{r} of dogs, in the chimney, - - - - - - - - - -	21	00	00
In the Garritts; It.: in corne and hoggsheads and other houshould lumber, - - - - - - - -	14	15	00
It.: in apparrell and plate, - - - - - -	40	00	00
In the Kittchin; It.: 2 brass kettles, 3 brass potts, 2 chafing dishes, 2 brass skilletts, a brass morter, a brass skimmer, and 2 ladles, 2 iron potts, 2 iron skilletts, a dripping pann, 2 kettles, 2 spitts and a jack, a p^{r} of cobirons, a p^{r} of andirons, a p^{r} of doggs, fire shouell and tongs, 2 frying panns, a warming pann, a gridiron, 7 pewter dishes, 2 porringers, 1 p^{r} of bellowes, a tinn dripping pann, a roster, and 2 tyn couers, pott hooks and trammells, all valued at - - - - - - -	12	10	00
In the Brew Howse; It.: a copper mash tubbs, payles, treyes, &c., - - - - - - - - -	04	10	00
In the Sellars; It.: 2 stills and dairy vessels, - - -	06	00	00
It.: in yearne ready for the weauer, - - -	03	00	00
It.: 2 oxen, 2 mares, 1 horse, 2 colts, 8 cowes, and 2 heifers, 3 two yeares ould and 6 yearlings, valued at - - - - - - - - -	143	00	00
It.: Husbandry implements, - - - -	05	00	00
It.: Howsing and Lands within the bounds of Hartford, on both sides the Riuer, - - -	450	00	00
It.: Bookes in his studdy, &c., valued at - - -	300	00	00
It.: an adventure in the Entrance, - - -	50	00	00
	1136	15	00

The foregoing perticulars were prised the day and yeare aboue written, according to such light as at p^{r}sent appeared,

by NATHANIELL WARD,
EDWARD STEBBING.

APPENDIX III.

(SEE PAGE 116.)

POEMS ON THE DEATH OF HOOKER.

In obitum viri Doctissimi Thomae Hookeri, Pastoris Ecclesiae Hertfordiensis, Novangliae Collegae sui.

A Starre of heaven whose beams were very bright,
Who was a burning and a shining light,
Did shine in our Horizon fourteen years,
Or thereabout, but now he disappears:
July the seventh six hundred fourtie-seaven,
His blessed soul ascended up to heaven.
He was a man exceeding rich in truth;
He stored up rich treasures from his youth.
While he was in the University;
His light did shine, his parts were very high.
When he was fellow of *Emmanuell*
Much learning in his solid head did dwell.
His knowledge in Theologie Divine
In *Chelmesford* lectures divers years did shine.
Dark Scriptures he most clearly did expound,
And that great mystery of Christ profound.
He had a singular clear insight, in
The soul's conversion unto God from sin:
And in what method men come to inherit
Both Christ and all his fullnesse by the Spirit.
He made the truth appear by light of reason,
And spake most comfortable words in season.
To poor distressed sinners and contrite,
And such as to the Promises had right;
Which did revive their hearts and make them wonder:
And in reproof he was a sonne of Thunder.
He spake the Word with such authority,
That many from themselves to Christ did fly.
His preaching was full of the holy Ghost,
Whose presence in him We admired most.
He did excell in Mercy, Peace, and Love,

Was Lion-like in courage, yet a Dove.
He from the largenesse of his royall heart,
His treasures was most ready to impart.
To many Ministers he was a father;
Who from his light much pleasant light did gather.
The principles he held were clear and strong:
He was to truth a mighty pillar long.
I can affirm I know no man more free
From Errors in his judgement than was he.
His holy heart delighted much to act
The will of God, wherein he was exact.
No other way could with his spirit suit;
His conversation was full of fruit.
He was abundant in the work of God,
Untill death came, and heaven was his abod.
At his last clause Christ found him doing well,
His blamelesse life but few can parallel.
The peace he had full thirty years agoe
At death was firm, not touched by the foe.
Of all his daies and times, the last were best:
The end of such is peace, he is at rest.
His lipps, they were a spring and tree of life,
Unto his people, family and wife,
In which much wisdome, health and grace was found,
Are sealed up and buried under ground.

If any to this Platform can reply
With better reason, let this volume die:
But better argument if none can give,
Then *Thomas Hookers Policy* shall live.

SAM. STONE,

Teaching Elder of the same Church at *Hartford* with him.

In sepulchrum Reverendissimi viri, fratris charissimi M. THO. HOOKERI.

America, although she doe not boast
Of all the gold and silver from this Coast,
Lent to her sister *Europe's* need or pride,
(For that's repaid her, with much gain beside,
In one rich Pearl, which Heavens did thence afford,
As pious *Herbert* gave his honest word)
Yet thinkes SHE in the Catalogue may come
With *Europe*, *Africke*, *Asia*, for ONE TOMBE.

E. ROGERS.

On my Reverend and dear Brother, Mr. THOMAS HOOKER, late Pastor of the Church at Hartford, on Connectiquot.

To see three things was holy *Austins* wish,
Rome in her Flower, Christ Jesus in the Flesh,
And *Paul* i' the Pulpit; Lately men might see,
Two first, and more, in *Hookers* Ministry.

Zion in Beauty, is a fairer sight,
Than *Rome* in Flower, with all her Glory dight:
Yet *Zions* beauty did most clearly shine,
In *Hookers* Rule, and Doctrine; both Divine.

Christ in the Spirit is more then Christ in Flesh,
Our Souls to quicken, and our States to blesse:
Yet Christ in Spirit brake forth mightily,
In Faithfull *Hookers* searching Ministry.

Paul in the Pulpit, *Hooker* could not reach,
Yet did He Christ in Spirit so lively Preach:
That living Hearers thought He did inherit
A double Portion of *Pauls* lively spirit.

Prudent in Rule, in Argument quick, full;
Fervent in Prayer, in Preaching powerfull:
That well did learned *Ames* record bear,
The like to Him He never wont to hear.

'Twas of *Genevahs* Worthies said with wonder,
(Those Worthies Three:) *Farell* was wont to Thunder;
Viret, like Rain, on tender grasse to shower,
But *Calvin* lively Oracles to pour.

All these in *Hookers* spirit did remain:
A Sonne of Thunder, and a shower of Rain,
A pourer forth of lively Oracles,
In saving souls, the summe of miracles.

Now blessed *Hooker*, thou art set on high,
Above the thanklesse world and cloudy sky:
Doe thou of all thy labour reape the Crown,
Whilst we here reape the seed, which thou hast sowen.

J. COTTON.

APPENDIX IV.

SEE PAGE 117.

NOTES OF MR. HOOKER'S SERMON.

The following notes and comments were kindly furnished by Dr. J. H. Trumbull:

FROM DEACON MATTHEW GRANT'S MSS. NOTES.

[Mr. Hooker died Wednesday, July 7, 1647. "The last Lord's day of his public ministry, when he administered the Lord's Supper" to his Church, must have been either June 27th or July 4th. At the end of these notes of a sermon preached June 20th, Deacon Grant wrote:

"Mr. Hooker was buried 18 days after he preached this sermon."

There is an allusion under Doctrine the 3d to objections made to the adoption of a Church covenant by the Windsor church. Some weeks after Mr. Hooker's death (Aug. 15, 1647) Mr. Warham preached "upon the matter and form of a church" (from I Cor. 1: 2) "and upon baptizing children." October 23, 1647, the Windsor church adopted a form of Covenant, of which the only record is in Deacon Grant's note-book. I find no evidence of any earlier "explicit" Covenant in that church.]

"June 20, 1647. A sermon preached at Windsor by Mr. Hooker, pastor of Hartford, whilst Mr. Warham was absent in the Bay. The text, Rom. 1: 18,—'For the wrath of God is revealed from Heaven against all unrighteousness,' *etc.* In the words are three things to be considered: First, the condition of all men by nature; ungodly, unrighteous. 2dly, the evidence of this condition: 'They hold down the truth in unrighteousness.' 3dly, God's displeasure against these men manifested by wrath from heaven.

The points of *Doctrine* that were handled were three: 1. All the sons of Adam in themselves considered are ungodly and unjust. All men as they came from Adam are unjust: Ephes. 2: 12: haters of God: Tit. 3: 3.

Use. Hence we may learn what we may expect at the hands of all natural men, when we come to deal with them. Natural men are unjust men and unrighteous men. Judas was an unrighteous man, and bore the bag, and then served himself. There is never a natural man but will be thieving if he can do it secretly.

2dly. This shows that wicked men deceive themselves, and God's people are deceived by them, but though no man know them to be unjust, yet God knows them to be unjust.

3dly. This is to exhort all natural men not to quiet themselves in this condition, not for a moment; for as death leaves them, so will God find them at the Judgment.

A *Second Doctrine:* that there be stirrings of truth in the hearts of all men naturally, and carnal men labor to beat them down. Two things to be considered: What this truth is, and how it [is] stirring. This truth is, those relics that are left in the mind of man from Adam, that light that discovereth right and wrong in many things, and is that conscience which is in man. Rom. 2: 14.

2dly, this truth left in the heart of man is but little and weak of itself: corruption in the heart hath eaten it out. Acts 17: 27.

2. How this truth is stirring in men's bosoms, which they labor to beat down.

Use. Wonder therefore at the goodness of God to man fallen, that he hath not left him wholly in darkness, without any means to help him, but hath left him some recoilings of heart to recover him. So long as a prince leaves his ambassador in another country, it is a sign he maintains peace with them, but if he call him home, they must expect war. So if God leaves us to ourselves, so that we put out this spark of light left in our bosom, let us take heed God does not proceed against us. It was the course God took with the old world, because they always resisted his dictates: therefore, that his spirit should not always strive with them.

Use of *Instruction:* that with a watchful fear, you give attendance to the truth of God, yea, to the least whispering of conscience. Little do you think that when you go away convinced in your conscience that these are duties to be attended—oh, take heed, these are counsels of God from heaven, and you must give attendance to whispering: therefore, when God's acting, and conscience is acting, do you act also. When David's heart smote him, he took it as from God. So do you. Though these truths cannot bring a man to his journey's end, yet they will help him onward on his way.

When the truth is stirring, what do they? They hold it down * in unrighteousness. For explanation of some things: Any breach of the law of God is meant by unrighteousness. 2dly, to hold down the truth is as much as to lay violent hands upon truth and upon conscience, and

* Here, as elsewhere, Hooker substitutes "they hold [it] down," for "they hold [it]" (in unrighteousness) of the authorized version. The Genevan, or rather Beza "Englished by L. Tomson"—the version most used by the Puritans—has "which *withhold* the truth in unrighteousness." Hooker's rendering of the original text (κατεχόντων) is the same to which preference is given in the new revision —"who *hold down* the truth," etc.

to say, accuse and convince no more; they do arrest the truth, and imprison the truth; but how? It is in unrighteousness: that is, by the authority (?) of the sinfull distemper in the soul that any person does rise up and oppose any truth of God.

Doctrine the 3d. Carnal men suppress the power of the truth, that it may not prevail with them, and press them to holy duties: that no light may come in to hinder them in their way. They stifle conscience: when Lot spake mildly, they were hot against him: Gen. 19: "And these proud men," Jer. 43: 2: when truth does not please them, "thou liest." Men that live in continual opposition against God, God leaves them that they see neither right nor reason, as a man that hath lost all his eyes. How men suppress the truth, and lock the truth close prisoner. A carnal man and unrighteous heart, because he cannot be quiet in his sin, he is not willing to see, because he is not willing to do that which will cross (?) his distemper: he keeps himself off from the truth and saith, what need a man trouble himself with these nissityes (niceties): he winketh with his eyes, and sayeth to the prophet, see not, but speak unto us smooth things. A carnal heart acts like a jailor, confines the conscience to the chain—and he shall have the liberty of that, but no more; sayeth, thus far shalt thou go, but no farther; like [one with] blear eyes, that can endure some light, but that the sun should shine full in his face, he cannot endure: content to have it taught that a man should not steal—by the highways; but that a man must not cozen in secret, he cannot endure; or such as can bear to have rotten and corrupt speeches reproved, but to forbid chambering and wantonness he will not bear.

2dly. Haply, a man is not able to avoid the light: then a carnal mind will labor to dull and take off the edge of truth and power of that he knows; he will put reproofs upon the good ways of God, flinging filth and shame upon the good word of God, that so it may not have welcome and his heart not be taken to come under the power of the truth; and also say, your Church covenant is but a conceit taken up of some,—and that baptism should be dispensed but to children of the Church, they say it is but a conceit, to please some in a singular way; and so discourage from the truth as impossible ever to have comfort; Rom. 1: 28, 2 Thes. 2: 10: they had the truth, but did not love it. But our Saviour sayeth, Blessed is the man that is not offended at me.

3dly. If the evidence of truth be so clear that it dasheth all, and so compels a man to come in,—then a carnal heart frameth new arguments to overbear the power of the truth. Balaam would fain have had allowance from God, and had a house full of gold; and when he cannot get allowance, then he fell to quarreling and caviling.

A carnal heart takes great contentment that he can find a *shift.*

When a man is troubled at the evidence of truth, he may go far and

near to get some help, and if he can get any kind of shift, he sits down fully satisfied,—as Pharaoh sends for the magicians, not that he might know the mind of God to do it, but that he might have some plea to attend [. . . .] his way.

4thly. If a man is not able to corrupt the truth, then he will proceed to open opposition of it: when they cannot tell how to write the bond of truth, then they will break it. 1 Sam. 8: 19; we will have a king. Hence comes this speech: All the world shall not persuade me: not their arguments are strong, but they are resolved.

5thly. They have so dabed* conscience, Eph. 4: 18, that they are past feeling: conscience says nothing, and they fear nothing. 1 Timo. 4: 2; conscience is seared with a hot iron: now they will deny a man the liberty of the prison: the man is growing sermon-proof and prison-proof: they master their conscience,—and by this time the sinner is like a living devil. What is the reason of this? What hath the truth done, that they are so troubled? Because a corrupt heart looks at his lusts as his chief good, as his God,—as Micah, Judg. 18: 24; that is the cause why they are so violent against the truth; they will rather destroy than their lusts, 1 Sam. 4: 8, 9; when they see the truth would make them servants to the truth against their lusts, as they count it, they will not yield to these . . . . commandments. Herod's lusts were nearer to him than God. So the scribes and the pharisees dealt with the Son: slay him, that the kingdom may be ours. A man cannot live in his kingdom of pride if truth be not beaten down.

2dly. So they are desirous to have sweet contentment with their sins, therefore they will oppose the truth that will raise claims of conscience and [so that] they shall not have quiet in their sins. It is no marvel they so trouble truth that so troubleth themselves. Rev. 11: 10; when the two witnesses were slain then the world made merry that they were dead that tormented them: every wicked man is the malefactor whom truth witnesseth against.

Obs. But how can they imprison the truth that shall triumph forever? There is a directing power in the truth, which may be dashed by them; but there is a condemning power in the truth that shall stand forever!

Use; of *Instruction:* that this follows as a collection undeniable, that all opposers of the truth are ever under the power of some corruption if they persevere in opposing it: he imprisons the truth out of pride: if it be a godly man that opposeth the truth for a pang, he is pestered with some corruption, though not under the power of it. John 3: 20, Every man that evil doeth, hateth the light. Jonah was in a pang of [. . . .] for a time. If a man persevere in opposing the truth, it argues he is under the power of corruption. Achan loved the wedge,

* A reference to Ezek. 13: 10–12? "daubed it with untempered mortar," &c.

and Balaam the wages of iniquity, and therefore went again and again to cross the Lord: the Pharisees out of their own conceit compassed sea and land in order that they might rejoice in their flesh in winning any one to be their follower. Matt. 7: 6; who are that trample upon the pearl, but hogs and dogs? The one will trample upon it and grunt,—but will do nothing; the dog will snarl at it: follow them, and you shall ever find they have their sty and kennel, some base lust to lodge in.

Use: of Examination and Trial; that we may here discover whether a heart be carnal or spiritual, see how the heart stands to the truth and carries (?) to the truth. John 8: 32; free from your corruptions and distempers: but if he be a professed opposer of the truth, he is a man that never had the truth of God in his heart. An oppresser of the truth has no gracious work of truth, in sincerity.

This Doctrine condemns three sorts of men: [1st,] politic professors; 2d, wrangling, and 3d, self-conceited professors. The politic is a secret professor, that colors over their profession to serve their own turns; whose policy cuts the throat of sincerity: he serves the times; he admits (?) that a man cannot carry himself free from the entanglements of the times. They are formalist professors: he has the truth as a child has a bird in a string; pulls him to him, and lets him go, as he will. There be birds that we call weatherwise, that will go or come as the season serves: so these professors will have so much truth as will serve their turn, and that which will not they lay by. There be some that be for any place: England, Spain, France, or Anabaptists, the smells, the climate of the country, and knows what ship will carry him to his haven.* Esther, 8: [17,] many turned Jews.

2. Your *wrangling* professor; that professeth himself marvellously zealous, yet [is] one of the cunningest enemies that the truth has: he kisseth Christ, and betrays truth: and all this he does for his zeal, and for God and the truth and the *rule* is all he seeks, and he will do anything for it; the truth he cannot see. Will you have the scope of this professor? He will not be convinced of the truth, that he may not do the thing he is convinced of: for a man to confess a sin and yet to stand in the commission of it, will not stand with morality: but this bears a face [*sic*] when a man inquires a way: but he is resolved not to embrace the truth, that so [he] may not do it. Oh, let the counsel of the wicked be far from me, Jerem. 42: 20, they come to inquire, when they were resolved [not to do]; Matt. 21: 25–27, they were put to a strait, and came off with a lie. When a man is convinced, and will not come off, unless he be in a distemper, he is a wrangler.

3. The *self-conceited:* We have an example of them in Matt. 14: 4,

*So, in the notes—here, manifestly, very imperfect.

5, 6: they lord it over the law, and think that their wit has the commonwealth in their heads, and that all men's apprehensions must fall in with their judgments: 1 Timo. 6: 3, 4; if any man thinks otherwise, he is diseased in the humour of questions [*sic*], he comes not up to the terms of the truth. In an unsound body, when the humour grows all to one place, he is sick of a disease. All his zeal for the truth is to set up himself.

Use: of *Consolation*, and of singular comfort to all that are willing to inquire after the truth and nothing but the truth. This is an evidence of a sincere heart: If you are of the truth, then are you my disciples. 'I have no greater joy than [to hear] that my children walk in the truth' [3 John, 4]: and if he had joy in beholding, what a treasure of joy is it to have the enjoyment of it. 1 John, 3: 8, [3 John, 12,] 'Demetrius hath a good report of all men and of the truth itself.' When truth shall witness before the Lord in any one's behalf and say, though this poor sinful child, or servant, or wife, or master, has been stubborn, froward, or proud in their places, yet I have found his heart upright towards Thee,—this will be your comfort at the last day.

Use: Here we may see the right and never failing way of God, how the heart may be brought to embrace the truth. Labor to quit your hearts of unrighteousness, for it is at the quarrel of unrighteousness that all suits are [*sic*]. Do as Peter exhorts, 1 Pet. 2: 12, lay aside all malice and guile, and do as Paul did, that which he counted gain he counted loss for Christ, parties mad in persecuting; but that which he counted gain, he threw them all away as dog's meat, for Christ. If you have a humour in yourself you must cleanse your stomach. When Ephraim renounceth his idols, then he shall be accepted."

APPENDIX V.

(SEE PAGE 145.)

THOMAS HOOKER'S PUBLISHED WORKS.

FURNISHED BY DR. J. H. TRUMBULL.

.? [*The Poor Dovting Christian drawne vnto Christ.*
8° *London : Printed in the year* 1629.]

Title from Henry Stevens—from whom Sabin copied it.

This book does not appear in the Registers of the Stationers' Company until 1637, whom (May 6th) "The poore doubting Christian drawn to Christ, &c. vpon John the 6th, the 45th [verse], by Master Hooker" was entered for copyright to Mr. [R.] Dawlman and Luke Fawne (*Registers*, iv. 383.) Two weeks earlier, "certain Sermons vpon John the 6th, verse the 45th, by T. H." had been entered to Andrew Crooke (*ibid.* 381)—which may have been another edition of the same work.

Its *sixth* edition was printed in 1641 :—

"The Poore Doubting Christian drawn to Christ. Wherein the main Lets and Hindrances which keep men from coming to Christ are discovered. With especiall Helps to recover God's favor. The Sixth Edition." *London : I. Raworth for Luke Fawne. pp.* (2), 163. 12°.

After the 6th, I can trace, in the seventeeth century, only three editions [1652 (*Dr. Williams's Libr. Cat.*); 1659, *J. Macock, for Luke Fawne*, 12°, and 1667, 16° (*Am. Antiq. Soc. Catalogue*)], before "The Twelfth Edition," 12° 1700.

The first American edition, with an "Abstract of the author's Life," by the Rev. Thomas Prince, was printed in Boston (for D. Henchman) 1743 (12° *pp.* 14, 144).—This edition, with the Life, and an Introduction by Rev. Dr. Edward W. Hooker, was reprinted, Hartford, 1845 (16° *pp.* 165, 1).

Sabin (*Dictionary*, no. 32847) says: "This, the earliest and most popular of Hooker's works, first appeared in a collection of sermons entitled 'The Saints' Cordial,' attributed to Sibbs." I have not seen this collection, nor can I find any mention of the edition of 1629 except in H. Stevens's catalogue (and in Sabin) as before noted.

The Soules Preparation for Christ. Or, A Treatise of Contrition. Wherein is discovered How God breaks the heart and wounds the Soule, in the conversion of a Sinner to Himselfe. *pp.* (8), 258.

4° *London, R. Dawlman*, 1632.

[2d edition ?] 4° *London*, 1635.

[3d edition ?] sm. 12° *Printed (for the use and benefit of the English Churches) in the Netherlands.* 1638.

4th Edition. 4° *London: Assignes, of T. P. for A. Crooke.* 1638.

6th Edition. 12° *Lond., M. F. for R. Dawlman.* 1643.

7th Edition. 12° *Lond.*, J. G. for R. Dawlman. 1658.

This work was entered to R. Dawlman, 29 Oct., 1631, as "The Soules Preparation for Christ, out of Acts 2, 37, and Luke 15, by *F.* H."—as the printed Register (iv. 263) has it, by a clerical error for *T.* H. One third of the copyright was assigned, 14 Oct., 1634, to R. Allott, and by Allott's widow, 1 July, 1637, to Legatt and Andrew Crooke.

The Eqvall Wayes of God: Tending to the Rectifying of the Crooked Wayes of Man. The Passages whereof are briefly and clearly drawne from the sacred Scriptures. By T. H. pp. (8), 40.

4° *London; for John Clarke*, 1632.

Entered to J. Clarke, 6 Dec., 1631 (*Registers*, iv. 267). The prefatory address, To the Christian Reader, is signed T. H.—showing that the publication was authorized by the author.

[*An Exposition of the Lord's Prayer.* By T. H. 1638.]

Entered, as above, to Mr. [R.] Dawlman, 5 Sept. 1637 (*Stat. Registers*, iv. 392). It is advertised, as published, in a list of Mr. Hooker's books, prefixed to (the 4th edition of) "The Soules Preparation," &c., 1638. The Bodleian Catalogue has: *Heaven's Treasury opened*, in a faithfull Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, 8° *Lond.* 1645: and Sabin has that title and date nearly (no. 32839) with "fruitful" in place of "faithfull," and adding: "with a Treatise on the Principles of Religion;" but marking the size as 4to. The Bodleian has, as a separate title: "An Exposition of the Principles of Religion," 8° 1645,—in the list of Hooker's works.

The Soules Humiliation. 4° *London, for A. Crooke*, 1637. Entered (as, by T. H.) Feb. 28, 1636–7, to A. Crooke, by whom one half the copyright was assigned to P. Nevill, 13 March, 1637–8 (*Registers*, iv. 374, 412). The licenser's imprimatur is dated Oct. 10 and Dec. 6, 1637.

The Second Edition, 4° *I. L. for A. Crooke.* 1638.

The Third Edition. 4° *T. Cotes for A. Crooke and P. Nevill.* 1640.

Another. 8° *Amsterdam, for T. L. . . . near the English Church.* (*pp.* 302) 1638.

The Soules Implantation. A Treatise containing, The Broken Heart, on Esay 57. 15. The Preparation of the Heart, on Luke 1. 17. The Soules Ingraffing into Christ, on Mal. 3. 1. Spirituall Love and Joy, on Gal. 5. 22. By T. H. 4° *R. Young, sold by F. Clifton*, 1637. *pp.* (2), 266.

Entered 22 Apr. 1637, to Young and Clifton, (*Registers*, iv. 382.) Another, much improved edition, under the title—

The Soules Implantation into the Naturall Olive. By T. H. Carefully corrected, and much enlarged. With a Table of the Contents prefixed. 4° *R. Young, sold by F. Clifton*, 1640. *pp.* (6), 320.

The Sermon on Spiritual *Joy*, on Habak. 3. 17, 18, is added in this edition, and the preceding Sermon, on Spiritual *Love*, was printed from larger and more accurate notes.

The Soules Ingrafting into Christ. By T. H. 4° *J. H*[*aviland*] *for A. Crooke*, 1637. *pp.* (2), 30.

The text is Mal. 3. 1. It is one of three "Sermons . . by T. H." entered to Crooke, 22 July, 1637 (*Registers*, iv. 390). Another edition of it makes part of "The Soules Implantation" 1637. See the next preceding title.

The Soules Effectuall Calling to Christ. By T. H. 4° *J. H*[*aviland*] *for A. Crooke*, 1637. *pp.* (2), 33–668.

Entered to A. Crooke, 21 Apr. 1637, as "certain Sermons upon John the 6th, verse the 45th, by T. H." (*Register*, iv. 381.) Usually bound with "The Soules Ingrafting," with which its paging is continuous; but also published separately (though without change of paging,) with a second title prefixed,—

The Soules Vocation or Effectual Calling to Christ. By T. H. With a Table of Contents (11 leaves), and in imprint, the date 1638.

[*The Soules Possession of Christ:* upon Romans 13: 4, Acts 16: 31, Psal. 51: 16, John 7: 37, 2 Kings 2: 12, 1 Peter 5: 5, Zeph. 2: 3. By T. H.] 8° 1638.

So entered to [R.] Dawlman, 13 Nov. 1637. The Bodleian Catalogue has: The Soules Possession of Christ: whereunto is annexed a Funeral Sermon on 2 Kings ii. 12. 8° *Lond.* 1638. "*Spirituall Munition:* a funeral Sermon, on 2 Kings ii. 12. By T. H. 8° *Lond.* 1638" (*Bodl. Cat.*) appears to have been also published separately.

The Soules Exaltation. A Treatise containing The Soules Vnion with Christ, on 1 Cor. 6. 17. The Soules Benefit from Vnion with Christ, on 1 Cor. 1. 30. The Soules Justification, on 2 Cor. 5. 21. By T. H. *pp.* (16), 311.

4° *J. Haviland, for Andr. Crooke*, 1638.

8 April, 1637, [12] "Sermons . . by T. H." were entered to Andrew Crooke,—the text of each being named (*Registers*, iv. 380). These sermons were made up into three volumes, under the titles, "The Soules Exaltation" (3), "Four Treatises," etc. (3), and "The Vnbeleevers Preparing for Christ" (5)—all published in 1638.

The Vnbeleevers Preparing for Christ. Luke 1. 17. By T. H. *pp.* (4), 204, (4); 119, (4). 4° *T. Cotes for Andr. Crooke*, 1638.

Six sermons. The first five selected from the "Sermons by T. H." entered to A. Crooke, 8 April, 1637; the last (on John 6. 44), one of "certain sermons . . by T. H.," entered to the same publisher, 22 July, 1637 (*Registers*, iv. 380, 390.)

Four godly and learned Treatises; viz.: The Carnall Hypocrite. The Churches Deliverances. The Deceitfulness of Sinne. The Benefit of Afflictions. By T. H. 12° *A. Crooke*, 1638.

(Prince Library and Bodleian Catalogues.) Probably four of the (12) Sermons by T. H. entered to Crooke, 8 April, 1637. Among "several Treatises by this Author" advertised by Cooke, 1638, are "Sermons on Judges 10. 23; on Psalms 119. 29; on Proverbs 1. 28, 29; and on 2 Tim. 3. 5." These sermons are included in the collection entered 8 April, except the third, which is one of four entered to the same publisher, 22 July, 1837. (Crooke assigned half the copyright of these "Four Treatises" to Wm. Wethered, 1 Sept. 1638.)

?[*The Garments of Salvation* first putt off by the Fall of our first Parents. Secondly, putt on again by the Grace of the Gospel. By T. H. 1639?]

Entered, 6 May, 1639, to R. Young and Fulke Clifton (*Registers*, iv. 465.) Mr. Arber queries, "?by Thomas Hooker." Certainly intended to *pass* for his. I have not been able to find a copy of it.

The Christians Two Chiefe Lessons, Viz. Selfe-Deniall, and Selfe-Tryall. As also, The Priviledge of Adoption and Triall thereof. In three Treatises on the Texts following: Viz. Matt. 16. 24. 2 Cor. 13. 5. Iohn 1. 12, 13. By T. H.

pp. (24), 303. 4° *T. B. for P. Stephens and C. Meredith*, 1640.

An "Epistle Dedicatory," to "the Honourable and truly Religious Lady, the Lady Anne Wake," is subscribed, Z. S. [Rev. Zechariah Symmes of Charlestown?] who "had taken some paines in the perusall and transcribing" the copy "after it came into the Printers hands," and "one that was inwardly acquainted with the Authour [Thomas Shepard?] hath laboured with me in this taske."

"*A Treatise or certaine Sermons 'of Selfe Denyall'* upon Matthew 16. 24 and 25 verses, by T. H." was entered 15 Dec. 1638, to Stevens and Meredith (*Registers* iv. 448). The completed work, with the title as above, was entered to the same partners, 15 Oct. 1639 (*id.* 483).

[*The Patterne of Perfection* exhibited in God's Image on Adam and God's Covenant with him, on Genesis 1. 26. Whereunto is added, *An Exhortacion to redeeme tyme* for recovering our losses in the premises on Ephesians, 5. 16. Also *certaine Queries* touching a true and sound Christian, by T. H.]

This title was entered to Mr. [R.] Young and Fulke Clifton, 19 Feb. 1638–9 (*Registers*, iv. 455). Published (in a second edition ?) 1640, 8° (*Bodl. Cat.*)

The Danger of Desertion: or A Farwell Sermon of Mr. Thomas Hooker, Somtimes Minister of God's Word at Chainsford in Essex; but now of New England. Preached immediately before his departure out of old England.—Together with Ten Particular rules to be practised every day by converted Christians. *pp.* (4), 29.

4° *G. M. for Geo. Edwards*, 1641.

Text, Jerem. 14. 9. A Second edition was printed the same year (Prince Libr. Cat.) A MS. note by the Rev. T. Prince attributes the "Ten Rules" to the Rev. E. Reyner.

The Faithful Covenanter. A Sermon preached at the Lecture in Dedham in Essex. By that excellent servant of Iesus Christ, in the work of the Gospel, Mr. Tho. Hooker, late of Chelmsford; now in New-England. Very usefull in these times of Covenanting with God. Psal. 78. vers. 9, [10, 36, 37: 8 lines]. *pp.* (2), 43.

4° *Christopher Meredith*, 1644.

Text from Deut. 29. 24, 25. Printed from the notes of some hearer —and without the author's knowledge—as "very useful in these times" of subscribing the "Solemn League and Covenant."

?[*An Exposition of the Principles of Religion.* 8° 1645.]

Title from the Bodleian Catalogue. I have not seen it.

The Saints Guide, in three Treatises on Gen. vi. 13, [3,] Rom. i. 18, and Ps. i. 3. 8° *Lond.* 1645.

Bodl. Catalogue. "Three Sermons upon these Texts (vizt.) Romans 1. 18, Genesis 6. 3, Psalms 1. 3, by T. H." were entered to John Stafford, 10 Aug. 1638 (*Stat. Reg.* iv. 428): but I can trace no earlier edition than that of 1645.

?[*The Immortality of the Soule.* The Excellencie of Christ Jesus, treated on. Wherein the faithfull people of God may find comfort for their Souls. By T. H. Published according to Order. *pp.* (2), 21.
4° 1646.]

Title from Sabin's *Dictionary*, (no. 32841)—where it is attributed to Hooker.

?[*Heautonaparnumenos:* or a *Treatise of Self-Denyall.* Intended for the Pulpit; but now committed to the Presse for the Publike Benefit. By Thomas Hooker. *London, Wilson for Rich. Royston*, 1646.

Title from Sabin (no. 32840) who evidently had not seen the book, for he does not give the size or number of pages. I am confident this *title* is not (our) Thomas Hooker's: but the book may be a bookseller's make-up from "The Christians Two Chief Lessons," *etc.* published in 1640.

POSTHUMOUS.

A Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline. Wherein, The Way of the Churches of New-England is warranted out of the Word, *etc.* . . . By Tho. Hooker, late Pastor of the Church at Hartford upon Connecticott in N. England. *pp.* (36); Part I. *pp.* 139, (1 blk.), 185–296; Part II. *pp.* 90; Part III. *pp.* 46; Part IV. *pp.* 59.
4° *A. M. for John Bellamy*, 1648.

The author's preface (18 pp.) is followed by an Epistle to the Reader (4 pp.) subscribed by Edward Hopkins and William Goodwin, Hartford, 28 Oct. 1647: a Poem "in obitum viri Doctissimi Thomæ Hookeri," by Samuel Stone; others by John Cotton and E. Rogers: and a further commendation to the reader by Thomas Goodwin, April 17, 1648.

This work, it appears, was "finished, and sent near two years" earlier, to be printed; but the copy "was then buried in the rude waves of the vast Ocean, with many precious Saints, in their passage hither." Mr. Hooker reluctantly consented to prepare another copy for the press, but "before the full transcribing, he was translated from us to be ever with the Lord."

To some copies of the work, John Cotton's "The Way of Congregational Churches cleared," was appended, and a general title, including both works, prefixed to the volume. Mr. Cotton's treatise continues the answers to Rutherford, begun by Mr. Hooker in Part I. Chap. 10, of the Survey. That chapter ends on p. 139, the next page is blank, and Chapter 11 begins on the next page following, numbered 185, with a new signature. It may have been the intention of the editors to incorporate Mr. Cotton's work with Hooker's, in this division of the Survey,—or the former may have been substituted for Hooker's unfinished notes.

The Covenant of Grace opened: wherein These particulars are handled; viz. 1. What the Covenant of Grace is, 2. What the Seales of the Covenant are, 3. Who are the Parties and Subjects fit to receive these Seales. From all which Particulars Infants Baptisme is fully proved and vindicated. Being severall Sermons preached at Hartford in New-England. By that Reverend and faithfull Minister of the Gospel, Mr. Thomas Hooker. *pp.* (2), 85. 4° *G. Dawson*, 1649.

The Saints Dignitie and Dutie. Together with The Danger of Ignorance and Hardnesse. Delivered in severall Sermons. By that Reverend Divine Mr. Thomas Hooker, Late Preacher in New-England. *pp.* (12), 246. 4° *G. D[awson], for Francis Eglesfield*, 1651.

Seven sermons: 1. *The Gift of Gifts:* or, The End why Christ gave Himself (*Titus* 2. 14): 2. *The Blessed Inhabitant:* or, The Benefit of Christ's being in Beleevers (*Rom.* 8. 10); 3. *Grace Magnified:* or the Priviledges of those that are under Grace (*Rom.* 6. 14); 4. *Wisdomes Attendants:* or The Voice of Christ to be obeyed (*Prov.* 8. 32): 5. *The Activitie of Faith:* or Abraham's Imitators (*Rom.* 4. 12): 6. *Culpable Ignorance:* or the Danger of Ignorance under Meanes (*Is.* 27. 11): 7. *Willfull Hardnesse:* or the Meanes of Grace Abused *Prov.* 29. 21). Each sermon has a full title-page, with imprint as in the general title: and probably each was sold separately—though the paging is continuous.

The preface, signed T. S. [Thomas Shepard] shows that this volume was prepared for the press by Mr. Hooker's son-in-law.

A Comment upon Christ's Last Prayer In the Seventeenth of John. Wherein is opened, The Vnion Beleevers have with God and Christ, and the Glorious Priviledges thereof . . . . By . . Mr. Thomas Hooker, *etc.* . . Printed from the Author's own Papers, . . . and attested to be such . . . by Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye. *pp.* (26), 532. 4° *Peter Cole*, 1656.

Half-title, on p. 1: "Mr. Hooker's Seventeenth Book made in New-England." A series of sermons on John 17. 20–26, preached, at the administration of the Lord's Supper, in the last years of Mr. Hooker's pastorate.

The numbering of the volume as "Mr. Hooker's Seventeenth Book" has given some trouble to the bibliographers. Of a collection of seventeen "books"—each comprising one or more sermons—sent to England for publication, the first *eight* were published together, by P. Cole, 1656 [and 1657] under the general title of "The Application of Redemption," etc.; and two others, the *ninth* and *tenth*, made a second volume under the same title. Six others (the *eleventh* to the *sixteenth*, inclusive) were announced by Cole, in 1656, as "now printing, in two volumes"—

but I find no evidence that they were ever published. The *seventeenth* "and last," (as Cole announced it) was "A Comment upon Christ's Prayer," etc.

The Application of Redemption. By the Effectual Work of the Word, and Spirit of Christ, for the bringing home of lost Sinners to God. [The first *Eight* Books.] . . By . . . Thomas Hooker, *etc.* Printed from the Authour's Papers, . . with . . an Epistle by Thomas Goodwin, and Philip Nye. *pp.* (46), 451. 8° 1657.

The title and collation are from Sabin: but the Catalogue of the Red Cross (Dr. Williams's) Library mentions two editions of 1656, one in octavo, the other in quarto.

The Application of Redemption, etc. The *Ninth* and *Tenth* Books . . Printed from the Author's Papers, Written with his own hand. And attested to be such, in an Epistle, By Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye. *pp.* (22), 702, (30). 4° *Peter Cole*, 1657.

The same. The Second Edition. *pp.* (22), 702, (30). 4° *Peter Cole*, 1659.

The prefatory epistle of Goodwin and Nye gives, in brief, the history of this work, and, incidentally, of many of the earlier editions of Hooker's sermons. "Many parts and pieces of this Author, upon this argument, sermon-wise, preach'd by him here in England, . . . having been taken by an unskilful hand, which, upon his recess into those remoter parts of the World, was bold without his privity or consent to print and publish them, . . . his genuine meaning was diverted . . . from the clear draft of his own notions and intentions. . . . In these Treatises, thou hast his Heart from his own Hand, his own Thoughts drawn by his own Pencil," *etc.* He had preached more briefly of this subject, first, while a Fellow and Catechist at Emmanuel College, and again, many years after, more largely, at Chelmsford,—"*the product of which was those books of Sermons that have gone under his name*,—and last of all, now in New-England."

APPENDIX VI.

(SEE PAGE 181.)

POEMS ON MR. STONE.

Edward Johnson's verses: In Wonder-working Providence.

Thou well-smoth'd *Stone* Christs work-manship to be:
In's Church new laid his weake ones to support,
With's word of might his foes are foild by thee;
Thou daily dost to godlinesse exhort.

The Lordly Prelates people do deny
Christs Kingly power *Hosanna* to proclaime,
Mens mouths are stopt, but *Stone* poore dust doth try,
Throughout his Churches none but Christ must raigne.

Mourne not Oh Man, thy youth and learning's spent
In desart Land: my Muse is bold to say,
For glorious workes Christ his hath hither sent;
Like that great worke of Resurection day.

To my Reverend Dear Brother MR. SAMUEL STONE, Teacher of the Church at Hartford.

How well (dear Brother) art thou called *Stone?*
As sometimes Christ did *Simon Cephas* own.
A *Stone* for solid firmness fite to rear
A part in *Zions* wall: and it upbear.
Like *Stone* of *Bohan*, Bounds fit to describe
Twixt Church and Church, as that twixt Tribe and Tribe.
Like *Samuel's Stone*, erst *Eben-Ezer* hight;
To tell the Lord hath helpt us with his might.
Like *Stone* in *Davids* sling, the head to wound
Of that huge Giant-Church, (so far renowned)
Hight the Church-Catholicke, Oecumenical,
Or, at the lowest compass, National;
Yet Poteck, Visible, and of such a fashion,
As may or Rule a world or Rule a Nation.

Which though it be cry'd up unto the Skys,
By Philistines and Israelites likewise;
Yet seems to me to be too neer a kin
Unto the Kingdom of the *Man of sin:*
In frame, and state, and constitution,
Like to the *first beast* in the *Revelation.*
Which was as large as Roman empire wide,
And Ruled *Rome*, and all the world beside.
Go on (good Brother) Gird thy Sword with might,
Fight the Lord's Battels, Plead his Churches Right.
To Brother *Hooker*, thou art next a kin,
By Office-Right thou must his pledge Redeem.
Take thou the double portion of his Spirit,
Run on his Race, and then his Crown inherit.
Now is the time when Church is millitant,
Time hastneth fast when it shall be Tryumphant.

JOHN COTTON.

[The copy of Stone's *Congregational Church a Catholike Visible Church* in the Connecticut Historical Library, to which the foregoing verses of John Cotton's are prefaced, is a presentation copy by Mr. Stone to Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, and the inscription, in Mr. Stone's hand, records the date of the gift as Aug. 3, 1653.]

A Threnodia *upon our Churches second dark Eclipse, happening* July 20, 1663, by *Death's Interposition between us and that great light and Divine Plant,* Mr. Samuel Stone, *late of* Hartford, *in* New England.

Last Spring this Summer may be Autumn styl'd,
Sad withering *Fall* our Beauties which despoyl'd
Two choicest *Plants*, our *Norton* and our *Stone*,
Your *Justs* threw down; removed away are gone.
One Year brought *Stone* and Norton to their Mother,
In one Year *April*, *July* them did smother.
Dame *Cambridge* Mother to this darling Son;
Emanuel, *Northampt'* that heard this one,
Essex our *Bay*, *Hartford* in Sable clad,
Come bear your parts in this *Threnodia* sad.
In losing *One*, Church *many lost:* Oh then
Many for *One*, come be sad singing men.
May *Nature*, *Grace*, and *Art* be found in *one*
So high as to be found in *few* or *none?*
In him these *Three* with full fraught hand contested
With which by each he should be most invested.
The *Largest* of the *Three* it was so great
On him the *Stone* was held a *Light compleat.*

A *Stone* more than the *Ebenezer* fam'd;
Stone splendent Diamond, right *Orient* nam'd;
A *Cordial Stone*, that often cheared hearts
With pleasant Wit, with Gospel rich imparts:
Whet-Stone, that Edgefi'd th' obtrusest Mind;
Load-Stone, that drew the Iron Heart unkind;
A *Ponderous Stone*, that would the bottom sound
Of Scripture-depths, and bring out *Arcan's* found;
A *Stone* for Kingly David's use so fit,
As would not fail *Goliah's* Front to hit:
A *Stone*, an *Antidote*, that break the course
Of Gangrene Error by Convincing force;
A *Stone Acute*, fit to divide and square;
A *Squared Stone*, became Christ's Building rare;
A *Peter's Living lively* Stone (so Rear'd)
As 'live was *Hartford's* life; *dead* death is fear'd.
In Hartford old, *Stone* first drew Infant-breath,
In *New* effus'd his last: O there beneath
His Corps are laid, near to his darling Brother,
Of whom dead oft he sigh'd *Not such Another.*
Heaven is the more desirable (said he)
For *Hooker*, *Shepard*, and *Haynes* Company.

E. B[ULKLEY?].

MR. STONE'S WILL

AND

INVENTORY OF HIS ESTATE.

The last Will and Testament of the Reverend Mr Samu Stone, late teacher of the Church of X at Hartford, who deceased July 20, 1663.

Inasmuch as all men on earth are mortall, and the time of dying wth the maner thereof is only forenowne and predetermined by the Majestie on high, and that it is a duty incumbent on all so farr forth to have their house set in order, as considerately to determine and dispose of all their outward estate, consisting in Heredetaments, Lands, Chattells, goods of what kind soever, wth all and either there appurtenaunces, to severall persons, that Righteousness and peace wth love might be maintained for the future, and whereas at this present: That I Samuel Stone, of Hartford, vpon Coñecticut, am by a gracious visitation and warneing from the Lord invited and called to hasten this present duty and seruice for ends premised, Being through the gentle and tender dealeing of the Lord in full and perfect memorie, make and appoint this as my last Will and Testament as followes:

Imp.: It is my will that M^rs. Elizabeth Stone, my loving wife, shall be my true and sole executrix of this my last Will and Testament, and that w^thout any intanglem^t or snare: the legacies given to herself being firstly possessed, all and every of them as they follow, and the after legacies to be made good out of y^e remayneing estate if sufficient, otherwise a distribution according to that proportion, yet if there happen any overpluss to be wholly and solely at the disspose of my sayd wife. Allso I give unto my sayd wife (during the terme of her life) half my houseing and lands w^thin the liberties of Hartford, and to have the free dispose of the value of the sayd halfe of my lands at the time of her death, by legacy or otherwise. Allso farther it is my will and I doe freely give unto my wife all the household stuff that I had w^th her when I marryd her, to be at her free and full dispose as shee shall see cause, other gifts which are more casuall, appeare in the legacies following:

Itt: Allso, as my last Will and Testament, and in token of my fartherly loue and care, I doe freely giue and bequeath unto my son Samuel Stone at the time of my deceasse the other halfe of my houseing and lands w^thin the liberties of Hartford afoarsayed and the other halfe of the houseing at the time of the death of my sayd wife, freely w^thout any valuable consideration to be in anywise required, as allso the other halfe of y^e Land, but upon a valuable consideration as before premised in the Legacy given to my deare and louing wife. Allso farther I doe freely giue unto my sayd sonne all my Bookes excepting such as are otherwise disposed of in this my sayd last Will and Testament: But, provided my sonne Samuell departe this life before he is marryed, that then the whole of this my present legacy remayneing shall returne to and be wholly at y^e disspose of my sayd louing wife.

Itt: Allso unto my daughter Elizabeth, I doe giue and order to be payd the full sume of one hundred pounds in household goods, chattells and other countrey pay, what my louing wife can best part w^thall, or in two or three acres of Land at price currant before the sayd Land be diuided betwixt my louing wife and sonne as afoarsaid, and this sayd legacy to be performed and made good w^thin two years after the marriage of my sayd daughter Elizabeth, provided that if my sayd daughter shall match or dispose of herself in marriage either w^thout or crosse to the minde of her dear mother my louing wife afoarsayd, and the mind and consent of my louing ouerseers hereinafter mentioned, then this my last will concerning her to stand voyd, and she gladly to accept of such a summe and quantity of portion as her said mother shall freely dispose to her or: And in case my said Daughter shall dye and depart this world before shee receiue her sayd portion, the whole thereof shall fully returne and belong vnto my sayd wife at her dispose.

Itt: Allso (as a token of my fatherly love and respect) I doe giue unto my three daughters, Rebeccah, Mary and Sarah, forty shillings, each of

them to be payd them by my dear wife in household stuffe, as it shall be prized in Inventory. And farther whereas the Honored Court of this Colony were pleased to giue or grante a farme unto me, Acknowledging there favoure therein and requesting them to assigne the same unto my sonn and deare wife in some conuenient place, where they may receive benefitt by it, to whom I doe freely give the same indifferently both for the present benefitt and future disspose:

And farther itt is my desire that such of my manuscripts as shall be judged fitt for to be printed, my Reverend Friend, M^r^ John Higginson pastor of the church of X^t^ at Salem may haue the peruseall of them, and fit them for the press, especially my catechisme.

And that my louing wife may have some direct refuge for aduise and helpfullness in all cases of difficulty in and about all or any of the premises my great desire is that my Brethren and friends M^r^ Mathew Allyn, Broth. W^m^ Wadsworth, M^r^ John Allyn and my sonn Joseph Fitch would affoarde their best assistance, whome of this my last will and testament I doe constitute as my most desired overseers, nothing doubting of their readiness herein, and unto whome w^th^ my loveing wife I doe leave the disposal of my sonne Samuel and daughter Elizabeth to be aduised and counselled in the feare of the Lord.

Subscribed by me
SAMUEL STONE.

In the presence and witnesse of
BRAY ROSSETER.

An Inventory of the goods and chattells of M^r^ Sam^ll^ Stone the late Reverend teacher of the Church of Christ at Hartford, who departed this life July the 20^th^, 1663.

	£	s.	dd.
Imprimis. In his purss and apparell,	18	13	00
In the Hall. In a table, joynt stooles and chairs,	01	04	00
In a Trammell Andirons Tongs and Bellowes,	01	05	06
In a cuboard,	00	09	00
In a feather bed, Pillowes, Bowlsters, rug, Blanckets, curtains, strawbed,	09	15	00
In one flock bed, Bowlster, rug, Blanket, a great bedstead, a Trucle b.,	03	10	00
In y Parlo. In a table forme, carpett, joynt stooles, chayres,	03	16	00
In a chest of drawers, a green cupboard, cloth, Glass case,	02	18	00
In a payer of Scales, weights, hower glass, andirons,	00	13	00
In two glass cases, Hamer, gimlet, cushion,	00	12	06
In y Closet. In plate in seuerall peices,	06	16	00

In a flagon, pinte pot, spoones, cutting knife,	00	17	00
In a lanthoren, Line, Trenchers, six saucers,	00	15	00
In a halfe Bushell, glass case,	00	05	06
In Bees wax and Honey and earthen ware,	01	04	00
In a Baskett, wooden ware, Butter, candles, china ware,	01	16	00
In the Kitchen. In Pewter 40lb and pewter Bason, candlesticks,	04	11	00
In three Brasse Candlesticks, three Chamber potts,	01	01	00
In five porrengers, small Brasse Candlesticks,	00	07	00
In tin ware, earthen ware, three brass skilletts,	01	03	06
In Iron Potts, Pot Hooks, In wooden ware,	02	00	00
In pailes, siues, Tubbs, meal Trough, Baskett,	01	03	00
In a Table, Jack Spitts, Gridiron, frying pan,	01	14	00
In a Mortar pestle, Trammells a piece of Iron, Tonges,	00	17	00
In a Brass Copper, Kettles, cheespresse, Bake pan,	06	03	00
In a churne, cupboard, a Barrell of Beif Tallow,	03	01	00
In two Tubbs,	00	05	00
In the Celler. In Cheese, Cyder, Aples, Table, Wooden ware,	04	19	00
In the Parlor Chamber. In a liuery Cub-board, Andiorns, Bedsted, 2 Chests,	03	05	00
In cushions, Curtaines & Valions, Boulsters and Pillowes, Brushes, blancketts,	07	18	00
In Goods, Broadcloth searge,	07	14	00
In earthen ware, Two sadles, Napkins, Table Cloath,	03	04	00
In Napkins, sheets, pillow Beers, Towels, sheets & glasses, a wheel & reale, a press, Napkins,	09	19	00
In the Kitchen Chamber. In a bedsteed, pillowes, rugg, forme,	01	00	00
In y Hall Chamber. In a Table, bedsteed, cutlash,	01	00	00
In a Bed, boulster pillow, curtaines & valliance,	04	05	00
In a Rugg, Blanketts, sheets,	05	14	00
	139	03	00
In the Study. In Tables, chayres, chest,	001	01	00
In Andiorns, Tonges, firepan,	000	10	00
In Bookes, &c.,	127	00	00
In the Garrett. In Cask, Bedsteeds, Indian Corne,	002	12	00
In a Trunkle Bedsted & Bed,	003	00	00
In pease & wheat & caske,	001	18	00
In Mault,	001	07	00
In Woole,	001	00	00
In Cattle,	029	10	00
In Sheep & Swine,	010	00	00

In House & Home lott,	100	00	00
In Meadow 20 Acres,	129	00	00
In fower seuerall wood lotts,	010	00	00
In two hiues of Bees,	001	00	00
Mow Hay,	006	00	00
Sume totall is,	£563	01	00

Apprized Nouember 1663
p nos JOHN ALLYN
WILL: WADSWORTH.

APPENDIX VII.

(SEE PAGE 242.)

DEATH OF SAMUEL STONE (*second*).

This letter of John Whiting to Increase Mather is published in Volume VIII (Fourth series), *Mass. Hist. Society Collections*, pp. 469–472.

These for the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher to the Church.

Rev^{d} S^{r}.,—I received yours of the 6th instant, and thank you for the intelligence therein giuen. Gour. Eaton and Haines were both walking in the day, and both died in the night by a suddain surprise: I haue communicated your desire to Capt: Ffitch. Since my last here is another dreadfully tremendous providence fallen out in the death of poore Mr. Stone, the short of whose sinfull life and sorrowful death is this. Sam^{ll} Stone (the son and heire of Mr. Sam^{ll} Stone, the first Teacher of the Church in Hartford) whose abilities, naturall and acquired, were so considerably raised, that he preached some years in severall places, with a generall acceptation among those that heard him, as to the gift part of his work therein: He long since fell into a course of notorious drunkenes, pretending a certaine infirmity of body with an iñocent and necessary use of strong drink to relieve him against it, so as no endeavours of magistrates, ministers, &c., could reach him to any conviction, but he continued an habituall drunkard for sundry yeares; yet still professing and defending himselfe to be as faultles therein as the child unborne. His precious, godly mother (whose life was sometimes hazarded, before she dyed, through the greife she receiued by hard words and wretched cariages she met with from him on the forementioned account: whence some that had occasion to obserue it, feared an untimely end would ouertake him, unless an eminent repentance were giuen.) His Mother desiring the churches forbearance of censure, till a solemne day were kept for him: which it was accordingly done [May '81] by sundry ministers and other faithful . . . himselfe refusing to be there because (as he said) he would not dally with God in desiring conviction about a matter, wherein he knew himselfe fully cleare. Whereupon after much patience and pains used, the Church proceeded to an excommunication, in which state he continued without any repentance or reformation man-

ifested to his dying hower. He wasted his whole estate (lying in a very comfortable house, a considerable quantity of land, and a good Library, left him by his worthy ffather) to satisfy and serue that sordid lust, and so dyed in debt: — : Upon the 8th of 8ber, 1683, he went from the house where he lived, about noone; was among his companions first at one, and then at another Taverne, and thence went in the evening, to a ffriends house, where his discourse was bitter and offensiue to some present; but going thence, the night being very dark, was found the next morning dead in the little Riuer that runs through the town of Hartford; having missed the bridge. He fell down upon the Rocks, and thence rowled, or some way gott into the water at a little distance, and there lay dead at breake of day. A terrible instance of the infatuatings of sin, and fearful severity of Israel's Holy One against it; that in this dreadfull example, amongst many others, loudly proclaimes the cōmand, Eccles: 7: 17, and the threatening: Proverb: 29, 1.

I haue giuen you the sum of this lamentable story. The Lord make this awfull death powerfully instructive and awakening to thou that liue: —

If anything in this or any other passages I have formerly written may be of publick usefulnes, I leaue it to your prudence, only requesting a concealement of my name, and what you judge unmeete under present circumstances for a publick view, especially in the matter of the Wakemans, relating to Bishop B: —: The Lord assist and succeed you in all your holy labours for the good of soules, unto his glory, in whom I am

Yours sincerely,

Jn WHITING.

HARTFORD, 8ber 17, 1683.

APPENDIX VIII.

(SEE PAGE 266.)

SAYBROOK ARTICLES.

ARTICLES.

For the Administration of Church Discipline, Unanimously Agreed upon and Consented to by the Elders and all the Churches in the Colony of Connecticut, in New England, *Convened by Delegation in a General Council at* Say Brook, *Sep.* 9th 1708.

I. That the Elder, or Elders of a particular Church, with the Consent of the Brethren of the same, have power and ought to exercise Church Discipline according to the Rule of God's Word, in Relation to all Scandals that fall out within the same. And it may be meet in all cases of Difficulty for the Respective Pastors of particular Churches to take advice of the Elders of the Churches in the Neighbourhood, before they proceed to censure in such Cases. *Mat.* 18. 17, *Heb.* 13. 17. 1. *Cor.* 5. 4, 5, 12. 2 *Cor.* 2, 6. *Prov.* 11, 14. *Act.* 15. 2.

II. That the Churches, which are Neighbouring each to other, shall Consociate for mutual affording to each other such Assistance, as may be requisite, upon all occasions Ecclesiastical: And that the particular *Pastors & Churches*, within the respective Counties in this Government shall be one Consociation (or more if they shall judge meet) for the end aforesaid. *Psal.* 122. 3, 4, 5, & 133. 1. *Eccl.* 4. 9 *to* 12. *Act.* 15. 2, 6, 22, 23. 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. 1 *Cor.* 16. 1.

III. That all Cases of Scandal, that fall out Within the Circuit of any of the Aforesaid Consociations shall be brought to a Council of the Elders & Also Messengers of the Churches, within the said Circuit, *i. e.* the Churches of one Consociation, if they see cause to send Messengers, when there shall be need of a Council for the Determination of them. 3 *Joh. ver.* 9, 10. 1 *Cor.* 16. 1. *Gal.* 6. 1, 2. 2 *Cor.* 13. 2. *Act.* 15. 23. 2 *Cor.* 8. 23.

IV. That according to the Common practice of our Churches nothing shall be deemed an Act or Judgement of any Council, which hath not the major part of the Elders present Concurring, and such a num-

ber of the Messengers present as makes the Majority of the Council: Provided that if any such Church shall not see cause to send any Messengers to the Council, or the persons Chosen by them shall not attend; neither of these shall be any obstruction to the Proceedings of the Council, or Invalidate any of their Acts. *Acts* 15. 23. 1 *Cor.* 14. 32, 33.

V. That when any Case is Orderly brought before any Council of the Churches it shall there be heard and determined which (unless orderly removed from thence) shall be a final Issue, and all parties therein Concerned shall sit down and be determined thereby. And the Council so hearing, and giving the Result or final Issue, in the case as aforesaid, shall see their Determination, or Judgement duly executed and attended, in such way or manner, as shall in their Judgement be most suitable and agreeable to the Word of God. *Act.* 15. 1 *Cor.* 5. 5. 2 *Cor.* 2. 6, 11, & 13. 2. *Phil.* 3. 15. *Rom.* 14. 2, 3.

VI. That, if any Pastor & Church doth obstinately refuse a due Attendance & Conformity to the Determination of the Council, that hath the Cognizance of the Case, and Determineth it as above, after due patience used, they shall be reputed guilty of Scandalous Contempt & dealt with as the Rule of God's Word in such case doth provide, and the Sentence of *Non-Communion* shall be declared against such Pastor and Church. And the Churches are to approve of the said Sentence, by withdrawing from the Communion of the Pastor and Church, which so refused to be healed. *Rom.* 16. 17. *Mat.* 18. 15, 16, 17, *by proportion Gal.* 2. 11 *to* 14. 2 *Thes.* 3. 6, 14.

VII. That, in Case any difficulties shall arise in any of the Churches in this Colony which cannot be Issued without considerable disquiet, that Church in which they Arise (or that Minister, or Member aggrieved with them,) shall apply themselves to the Council of the Consociated Churches of the Circuit to which the said Church belongs, who, if they see cause shall thereupon convene, hear, and determine such cases of difficulty, unless the matter bro't before them shall be judged so great in the Nature of it, or so doubtful in the Issue, or of such general concern, that the said council shall judge best that it be referred to a fuller council consisting of the Churches of the other Consociation within the same County, (or of the next adjoyning consociation of another County, if there be not two consociations in the County, when the difficulty ariseth) who together with themselves shall hear, judge, determine, and finally Issue such case according to the Word of God. *Pro.* 11. 14. 1 *Cor.* 14. 33, & 14. 24 *by proportion.*

VIII. That a particular Church, in which any difficulty doth arise, may if they see cause, call a *Council of the consociated Churches of the*

circuit, to which the said Church belongs, before they proceed to sentence therein, but there is not the same liberty to an offending Brother, to call the said Council, before the Church to which he belongs, proceed to Excommunication in the said case, unless with the consent of the Church. *Act.* 15. 2. *Mat.* 18. 15, 16, 17.

IX. That all the churches of the respective consociations shall chuse, if they see cause one or two Members of each church, to Represent them, in the councils of the said churches, as occasion may call for them, who shall stand in that capacity, till new be chosen for the same service unless any church shall incline to chuse their Messengers a new, upon the convening of such councils. *Act.* 15. 2, 4. 2 *Cor.* 8. 23.

X. That the Minister or Ministers of the county Towns, and where there are no Ministers in such Towns, the two next Ministers to the said Town shall as soon as conveniently may be, appoint a time and place, for the Meeting of the *Elders and Messengers of the Churches in the said County*, in order to their forming themselves into one or more consociations, and notify the said time and place to the Elders and Churches of that County who shall attend at the same, the Elders in their own persons, and the Churches by their Messengers if they see cause to send them. Which Elders and Messengers so Assembled in council, as also any other council hereby allowed of, shall have power to adjourn themselves as need shall be, for the space of one year, after the beginning or first Session of the said council, and no longer. And that Minister who was chosen at the last Session of any council, to be moderator, shall with the advice and consent of two or more Elders (or in case of the moderators death, any two Elders of the same consociation) call another council within the circuit, when they shall judge there is need thereof. And all councils may prescribe Rules, as occasion may Require, and whatsoever they shall judge needful within their circuit, for the well performing and orderly managing the several Acts, to be attended by them or matters that come under their cognizance. *Phil.* 4. 8. 1 *Cor.* 14. 40. *Phil.* 3. 15, 16. *Rom.* 14. 2, 3.

XI. That if any person or persons orderly complained of to a council, or that are Witnesses to such complaints, (having regular Notification to appear) shall refuse, or neglect so to do, in the Place, and at the Time specifyed in the Warning given, except they or he give some satisfying Reason thereof to the said council, they shall be judged guilty of Scandalous contempt. *Col.* 2. 5. *Heb.* 13. 17. 1 *Thes.* 5. 14.

XII. That the Teaching Elders of each County shall be one Association (or more, if they see cause) which Association or Associations

shall Assemble twice a Year at least at such time and place, as they shall appoint, to consult the duties of their Office, and the common Interest of the Churches, who shall consider and resolve Questions & Cases of Importance, which shall be offered by any among themselves, or others, who also shall have power of Examining and Recommending the candidates of the Ministry to the work thereof. *Psal.* 133. 1. *Acts.* 20. 17, 28 *to* 32. *Mal.* 2. 7. *Mat.* 5. 14. *Deut.* 17. 8, 9, 10. 1 *Tim.* 5. 22. 2 *Tim.* 2. 15. 1 *Tim.* 3. 6, 10. *Rom.* 10. 15. 1 *Tim.* 4. 14.

XIII. That the said Associated Pastors shall take notice of any among themselves, that may be accused of Scandal, or Heresy unto or cognizable by them, examine the matter carefully, and if they find just occasion shall direct to the calling of the Council, where such offenders shall be duly proceeded against. *Lev.* 19. 17. 1 *Cor.* 5. 6. *Tit.* 3. 10, 11. *Isa.* 52. 11. *Mal.* 3. 3. *Tit.* 1. 6 *to* 9. *Deut.* 13. 14. 3 *Job*, *verses* 9, 10. *Rev.* 2. 14, 15. 1 *Tim.* 1. 20 &° 4. 14.

XIV. That the said Associated Pastors shall also be consulted by Bereaved Churches belonging to their Association and recommend to such Churches such persons, as may be fit to be called and settled in the Work of the Gospel Ministry among them. And if such Bereaved Churches shall not seasonably call and settle a Minister among them the said Associated Pastors shall lay the state of such Bereaved Church before the General Assembly of this Colony, that they may take such Order concerning them, as shall be found Necessary for their peace and edification. 2 *Cor.* 11. 28. *Phil.* 2. 19, 20, 21. 2 *Tim.* 2. 15, *Tit.* 1. 6 *to* 10. *Isa.* 49. 23.

XV. That it be recommended as Expedient, that all the Associations of this Colony do meet in a General Association by their respective Delegates, one or more out of each Association once a Year, the first Meeting to be at *Hartford*, at the time of the General Election next Ensuing the Date hereof, and so Annually in all the Counties successively, at such time and place, as they the said Delegates shall in their Annual Meetings Appoint. *Heb.* 13. 1.

APPENDIX IX.

(SEE PAGE 308.)

TESTIMONY AGAINST WHITEFIELD.

THE TESTIMONY

Of the North Association in the County of *Hartford*, in the Colony of *Connecticut*, convened at *Windsor*, Feb. 5, 1744, 5, against the Rev. Mr. *George Whitefield* and his Conduct.

As the Errors, Disorders and Confusions, which, for some years past, have so generally prevailed through the Churches of this Land, had their Rise (as we apprehend) from the Preaching and Management of the Rev. Mr. *George Whitefield* in his former visit to *New-England;* and as this same Gentleman is come into the Country a second Time, and has already been admitted to preach in several Churches in a neighboring Province.

We the associated Ministers in the Northern Part of the County of *Hartford*, think it needfull to bear a publick Testimony against him and his Conduct.

We cannot but look upon Him as a Man deeply tinctured with *Enthusiasm*, as is abundantly evident from his printed Journals. And as to his Manner of Preaching when he was in the Country before, we think it tended rather to move the passions of the Weak and Ignorant, than to inform the Understanding.

We can by no Means think, that his going about from one Country and Town to another, to preach as he has done, is warranted by the Word of God.

He appears to us to have been sowing the Seeds of Discord, Contention and Error in these Churches. We cannot but look upon him as guilty of very uncharitable, and unchristian Reflections upon the Body of the Ministers of this Land, the greater part of whom he was wholly a Stranger to; his Conduct in this Matter we cannot but look upon as highly criminal, being directly contrary to the Rules of Christianity, and tending to destroy the Usefulness of Ministers among their People; and until he has made an open and publick Acknowledgement of his offence, and publickly professed his Repentance for it, we think he ought not to be admitted to preach in any of our Churches.

His unjust Reproaches cast on our Colleges, which God has made such great Blessings to the Land, we think him bound to retract.

And though it is pretended by some, that Mr. *Whitefield* is much altered since he was in the Country before, yet we cannot learn that he has given any sufficient Evidence of it, tho', for some Reasons or other, he may forbear to act in some Things as he did before; neither can we learn that he has given any publick Satisfaction for his former Misbehavior, which we think it his Duty to do.

And as we know not whither this itinerating Gentleman will steer his Course, and cannot tell but he will presume to visit the Churches under our Care, we have thought it needful and proper, thus publickly to testify against him, and his Management, hereby declaring, that under the present Circumstances of Things we shall by no Means admit him into any of our Pulpits, and in Faithfulness to the People under our respective Charges, we would solemnly warn and caution them, to take Heed and beware of him.

BENJAMIN COLTON, *Pastor of a Church in Hartford.*
STEPHEN STEEL, *Tolland.*
THOMAS WHITE, *Bolton.*
ELNATHAN WHITMAN, *Hartford.*
DANIEL WADSWORTH, *Hartford.*
STEPHEN HEATON, *Goshen.*
JONATHAN MARSH, jun., (*New*) *Hartford.*

We the Subscribers, Members of the North Association in the County of *Hartford*, not being present at the last Meeting of said Association, but having since seen and perused the foregoing Testimony relating to Mr. *Whitefield*, do hereby signify our Approbation of it, and our hearty Concurrence with our Brethren therein, by subscribing our Names hereunto.

SAMUEL WHITMAN, *Pastor of a Church in Farmington.*
SAMUEL WOODBRIDGE, *Hartford.*
JOHN MCKINSTRY, *Elenton.*
TIMOTHY COLLINS, *Litchfield.*
DANIEL FULLER, *Willington.*
ANDREW BARTHOLOMEW, *Harrington.*
ELI COLTON, *Stafford.*
ELISHA WEBSTER, *Canaan.*
CYRUS MARSH, *Kent.*

APPENDIX X.

(SEE PAGE 310.)

"A LIST OF THE REV. MR. DANIEL WADSWORTH'S LIBRARY."

Two bibles, one at 5 & the other at 20 *s.*,	1	5	0
Patricks Commentaries on the Bible, 3 vol. fol.,	33	0	0
Lowths Commentary on the bible, 1 vol. fol.,	10	10	0
Burket, Annotations on New Testament, 1 vol. fol.,	17	0	0
Bedfords Cronology, 1 vol. fol.,	18	0	0
Willards Body of Divinity,	9	0	0
Crudens Scripture Concordance,	10	10	0
Dr. Owen on the Hebrews,	3	0	0
Traps Exposition on the 12 Minor Prophets,	1	10	0
Baxtres Catholick Theologie,	2	0	0
Morning Exercises,	1	0	0
Wollastons Religion of Nature Deliniated,	2	10	0
Clark on the Cause and origin of Evil, 2 vols.,	2	10	0
Monsier Pascals Thoughts on Religion,	1	10	0
A Dictionary of all Religions, Antient and Modern,	1	10	0
Clark. Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God,	2	0	0
Cheny on health & long Life,	1	10	0
Wats on Geography & Astronomy,	2	0	0
Seasonable Thoughts on the state of Religion: Dr. Chauncey,	1	0	0
Jenkins on ye Reasonableness & Certainty of the Christian Religion,	5	0	0
Sharps Sermons, 4 vols. octavo,	8	0	0
Lock on the Human Understanding, 2 vols.,	5	0	0
Ladys Library,	3	0	0
The whole Duty of man,	1	0	0
Common prayer Book,	0	8	0
Dr. Colemans Sermons,	1	15	0
Watts Sermons, 3 vols.,	3	0	0
Lock on Education,	1	00	0
Henrys Method of Prayer,	0	10	0
Henry on the Sacrement,	0	10	0
The Occasion, 2 vols.,	1	10	0

Vines on the Lord's Supper,	0	5	0
Common place Book,	2	0	0
Watts on Prayer,	0	5	0
Delaune, Plea for the Nonconformists,	0	4	0
Vincents Exposition,			
The Family Instructor, 2 vols.,	1	0	0
Goughes Works,	1	0	0
Hoadleys Sermons,	2	5	0
Laws Serious Call,	0	14	0
The life of Dr. Cotton Mather,	0	2	0
Appletons Sermons,	0	10	0
Higginsons Sermons,	0	3	0
Willards Peril of the Times Displayed,	0	3	0
Allins Allarm,	0	2	0
Doolittle on the Lords Supper,	0	4	0
Dr. Colemans Sermons on Mirth,	0	2	0
A funeral sermon on Mr. Symes,	0	3	0
Dr. Mr. Witch Book,	0	0	9
Dr. Increase Mather on Conversion,	0	8	0
Penhallows History,	0	4	0
Stoddards Sermons,	0	8	0
Mr. Mathers History of Commets,	0	8	0
Dickinson on ye 5 points,	0	15	0
Williams on the Duty and Interest of a people,	0	7	0
Stoddards Guide, etc.,	0	5	0
Shephards Sincere Convert,	0	9	0
Dr. Doddridge on the power & grace of Christ,	2	0	0
A Westminster Confession of Faith,	1	10	0
Barnards Sermons,	2	0	0
Gordons Geography,	1	10	0
The practice of Quietness,	0	1	0
Hawness, Compleat Measure,	0	8	0
Gassendis Astronomy,	0	4	0
Ames Christian Theology,	0	2	0
Ames Medulla,	0	8	0
Greek Testament,	1	0	0
School Books,	6	10	0
Connecticut Law Book,	2	0	0
Heavens Glory & Hells Terrour,	0	8	0
One hundred and fifty pamphlets at 6 *d.*,	3	18	0
Cambles Treatise upon Conversion,	0	8	0
I *Do.* Giles Fermin,	0	15	0
Secretarys Guide,	0	3	0
Wright on Regeneration,	0	10	0

APPENDIX XI.

(SEE PAGE 351.)

SUBSCRIBERS TO PAROCHIAL FUND.

"The following are the names of the subscribers to the aforesaid Fund with their respective sums annexed to each in Dollars. Dated, Hartford 6th of December 1802."

Jeremiah Wadsworth, Esq.,	$300	Normand Smith,	30
John Caldwell, Esq.,	100	Benj. Bigelow,	30
George Goodwin, Esq.,	100	Peter W. Gallaudet,	50
Ephraim Root, Esq.,	100	Timo P. Perkins,	30
Samuel Lawrence, Esq.,	100	James H. Wells,	30
Jonathan Brace, Esq.,	100	Dwell Morgan,	50
George Caldwell, Esq.,	100	Eli Ely,	30
William Mosely, Esq.,	100	David Watkinson,	50
Isaac Bull,	50	Samuel P. Williams,	30
Jacob Sergeant,	50	Edward Danforth,	50
Simeon Clark,	50	Thomas Huntington,	30
Enoch Perkins, Esq.,	60	William Lawrence,	50
Timothy Burr,	50	Jesse Deane,	50
Thomas Bull,	75	John Trumbull, Esq.,	60
Ezekiel Williams, jr.,	50	Josiah Beckwith,	50
Isaac Bliss,	50	Pardon Brown,	50
Asa & Daniel Hopkins,	75	Isaac D. Bull,	30
Eliakim Fish,	50	Stephen Dodge,	20
Aaron Chapin,	50	James Lothrop,	50
James Hosmer,	65	Rebecca & James Burr,	50
Roger Cogswell,	30	Rhoda Jones,	20
David Porter,	50	Esther Talcott,	10
Chauncey Goodrich, Esq.,	80	Joseph Steward,	20
Sam'l & Wm Wyllys, Esq.,	100	Lucia Pratt,	100
Charles Mather,	50	Aaron Colton,	25
Spencer Whiting,	50	Samuel C. Camp,	50
George Smith,	50	Anna Goodwin,	10
Theodore Dwight, Esq.,	50	Joseph Burr,	50
Jona W. Edwards,	30	Charles Seymour,	30

Oliver D. Cooke,	50	Zechariah Pratt,	30
Lewis Bliss,	20	Normand Knox,	20
Noble Day,	20	Peter Thacher,	15
William & Mathew Talcott,	80	John Smith,	30
David L. Dodge,	30	David Greenleaf,	15
John Chenward,	55	William Lord,	30
Daniel Wadsworth,	100	James Caldwell,	30
Eunice Wadsworth,	50	Hezekiah Burr,	20
Elizabeth Wadsworth,	50	Moses Burr,	15
Richard Goodman,	60	Thomas Sanford,	10
Harry Pratt,	20	Jonathan & James Goodwin, 2d,	20
Ezra Hyde,	10	Levi Kelsey,	20
Joseph Keeny,	15	Ezra Corning,	15
Sam'l & Dan'l Danforth,	50	Miles Beach,	40
Gideon Morley,	17	Daniel Moore,	15
Eliphalet Terry, jr.,	20	Aaron Cooke,	30
Ashbel Spencer,	30	William Chadwick,	20
Samuel Goodwin,	15	Joseph Hart,	50
Julius Jones,	10	John Ripley,	30
William Goodwin,	50	Walter Mitchell,	30
Nathaniel Skinner,	17	Joseph Harriss,	20
George Wadsworth,	15	Titus L. Bissell,	30
John Sheldon,	10		
Theodore Spencer,	10		$4709
George J. Patten,	30		

APPENDIX XII.

(SEE PAGE 355.)

PEWS AND SLIPS SOLD TO MCH. 27, 1809, AND GROUND PLAN OF HOUSE.

PEWS SOLD IN FEE SIMPLE.

No.		
3.	Daniel Wadsworth,	$1100
26.	John Caldwell,	760
25.	Ephraim Root,	760
2.	Nathaniel Terry,	760
6.	Normand Knox ¼, $162.50	
	Henry Hudson ¼, 162.50	
	Daniel Buck ¼, 162.50	
	Walter Mitchell ¼, 162.50	650
24.	Dwell Morgan ½, $320	
	Ward Woodbridge ½, 320	640
4.	George Goodwin,	620
20.	Thomas Bull ½, $307.50	
	Richard Goodman ½, 307.50	615
8.	Nathaniel Patton,	605
5.	Jonathan Brace,	600
23.	William Mosely,	560
22.	Isaac Bull, Isaac D. Bull, James R. Woodbridge,	550
7.	Daniel Porter ½, $265	
	Peter W. Gallaudet, ½, 265	530

PEWS SOLD FOR THIRTY YEARS.

No.		
9.	Enoch Perkins ½, $187.80	
	Oliver D. Cooke ½, 187.50	$375
10.	James Lathrop ⅔, 202	
	Peter Thacher ⅓, 101	303
19.	William Watson,	300
11.	Ruth Patten,	244
18.	Chas. Mather,	254
17.	David Wadsworth,	228
12.	Nathaniel Terry,	225

SLIPS SOLD IN FEE SIMPLE.

No.		
80.	Samuel & Rebecca Burr,	$281
82.	Timothy Burr ½, $210	
	Henry Newbury ½, 210	420
114.	Leonard Bacon ½, 132.50	
	Chauncy Gleason ½, 152.50	265
74.	Isaac Bliss,	237
38.	Alfred Bliss,	269
86.	George Caldwell,	253
87.	Samuel O. Camp,	250
72.	Mason F. Cogswell,	253
36.	Aaron Cook,	231
39.	Jesse Deane,	245
33.	Edward & Dan'l Danforth,	240
32.	Theodore Dwight,	238
119.	Jonathan W. Edwards,	275
40.	Eli Ely,	225
111.	Miller Fish,	292
84.	Chauncy Goodrich,	285
117.	Richard Goodman,	435
68.	John Hall,	252
113.	William Hills,	253
115.	James Hosmer,	270
79.	Andrew Kingsbury,	292
85.	John Leffingwell, Aaron Chapin,	250
121.	John Lee,	249
65.	Samuel Lawrence,	225
31.	William Lawrence,	288
116.	Jacob Sargeant,	278
112.	Charles Seymour,	244
69.	Joseph Steward,	273
120.	John Trumbull,	255
37.	Solomon Taylor,	246

SLIPS SOLD IN FEE SIMPLE CONTINUED.

No.		
78.	Eliphalet Terry,	273
81.	Spencer Whiting,	266
71.	Eunice & Elizabeth Wadsworth,	300
34.	Ezekiel Williams,	230
73.	David Watkinson,	250
118.	John Wales, Thomas S. Williams, Thomas Day, Wm. Watkinson, H. Averill, $\frac{1}{5}$ each,	280
83.	David Wadsworth, $265	
67.	" " 253	
94.	" " 225	
105.	" " 225	
106.	" " 225	1193
88.	Daniel Wadsworth,	300
110.	P. W. Gallaudet,	258
60.	The Committee,	225
61.	" "	225
62.	" "	225
44.	" "	225

SLIPS SOLD FOR THIRTY YEARS.

No.		
91.	Titus L. Bissell,	$141
66.	Thomas Chester,	150
93.	Aaron Colton $\frac{1}{2}$, $58 Josiah Beckwith $\frac{1}{2}$, 58	116
77.	Elisha Colt,	125
108.	Eliakim Hitchcock,	138
92.	Rena Hopkins, $50 Miles Beach, 80	130
63.	Normand Knox,	100
89.	Anson G. Phelps,	168
43.	James Pratt,	108
53.	George J. Patten,	100
42.	Barzillai Russell, Samuel Smith, Richard Williams, $\frac{1}{3}$ each,	100
109.	Jacob Sargeant,	145

SLIPS SOLD FOR THIRTY YEARS CONTINUED.

No.		
90.	Normand Smith $\frac{1}{2}$, $77.50 John Smith $\frac{1}{2}$, 77.50	155
59.	Daniel Wadsworth,	112
107.	Chas. B. King,	120
46.	Benjamin Conkling,	102
45.	Richard L. Jones,	100
55.	Joseph Lynde,	100
103.	David Porter,	100
56.	Daniel Wadsworth,	100
57.	" "	100
70.	" "	100
35.	" "	100

GALLERY PEWS IN FEE SIMPLE.

No.		
135.	Nathan Strong,	$150
130.	Daniel Wadsworth,	150
132.	Charles Mather,	150
129.	David Wadsworth,	150
133.	Bought by Committee,	150
134.	Isaac Bliss,	160
137.	Bought by Committee,	150
138.	" "	150
141.	" "	150

GALLERY PEWS SOLD FOR THIRTY YEARS.

No.		
143.	James Lathrop $\frac{1}{2}$, $37.50 Fredk. Lathrop $\frac{1}{2}$, 37.50	$75
144.	James H. Wells,	91
145.	David Watkinson,	77
146.	David Porter $\frac{1}{4}$, $21 Ward Woodbridge $\frac{1}{4}$, 21 Normand Knox $\frac{1}{4}$, 21 Spencer Whiting $\frac{1}{4}$, 21	84
147.	James B. Hosmer,	85
136.	Lemuel Swift & Co.,	101
140.	Daniel Wadsworth,	75
142.	Enoch Perkins $\frac{1}{2}$, $38.50 P. W. Gallaudet $\frac{1}{2}$, 38.50	77

SUMMARY.

13	Pews in Fee Simple,	$8750
7	Pews for 30 years,	1929
47	Slips in fee simple,	12,319
23	Slips for 30 years,	2710
	In the Gallery.	
9	Pews in fee simple,	1350
8	Pews for 30 years,	665
		$27,723

REMAINING UNSOLD.

No. 13, 14, 15, 16,
21, 27, Six Pews below.
No. 1, 28, 29, 30,
41, 47, 48, 49,
50, 51, 52, 54,
58, 64, 75, 76,
95, 96, 97, 98,
99, 100, 101,
102, 104, 122, Twenty-six slips.
In the Gallery, 17 Pews.

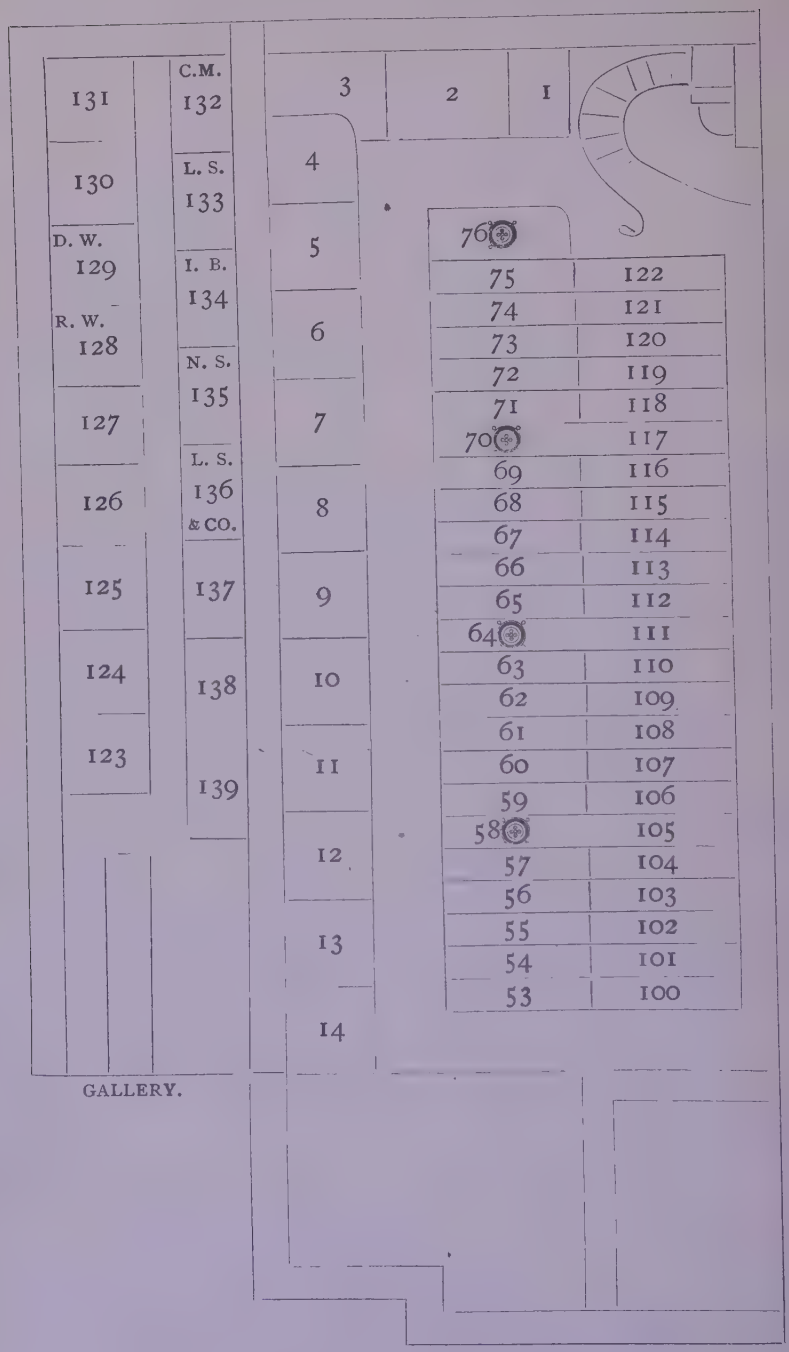
The following named persons at the same date rented sittings in the New Meeting House.

Charles and Asa Butler.
Joseph Burr, Jr.
James Barritt.
Ezra Corning.
Elisha P. Corning.
George Church.
Roswell Doolittle.
Stedman Adams.
Luther Freeman.
John M. Gannet.
Samuel Goodwin.
Widow Anna Goodwin.
Widow Daniel Goodwin.
David Goodwin.
Steward Gladden.
Daniel Hopkins.
Joseph Keeney.
Romanta Norton.
Fredk. Oaks.
Joseph Rogers.
John Ripley.
—— Stedman.
John Wadsworth.
Henry Wadsworth.
Thomas Wells.
John Wing.
Widow James Wells.
Mrs. David Bull.
Widow Sarah Wickham.

In 1819, Aug. 16, these slips and pews which had been turned over by the Building Committee to the Society had been sold at prices affixed:

Slip No.	60	in fee to			Benj. Bolles,	$160
"	35,	for 30	years	from 1808,	to Jabez Ripley,	42
"	46,	"	"	"	A. M. Collins,	80
"	103,	"	"	"	W. D. Smith,	54
"	56,	"	"	"	Benj. Phelps,	40
"	57,	"	"	"	R. Langdon,	44
Pew No.	12,	"	"	"	H. L. Ellsworth,	86
Pew in Gallery, No.	130	in fee,			Daniel Buck,	51
" "	"	137	"		Charles Hosmer,	129
" "	"	138	"		H. L. Ellsworth,	130

GROUND PLAN OF HOUSE.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C.M.
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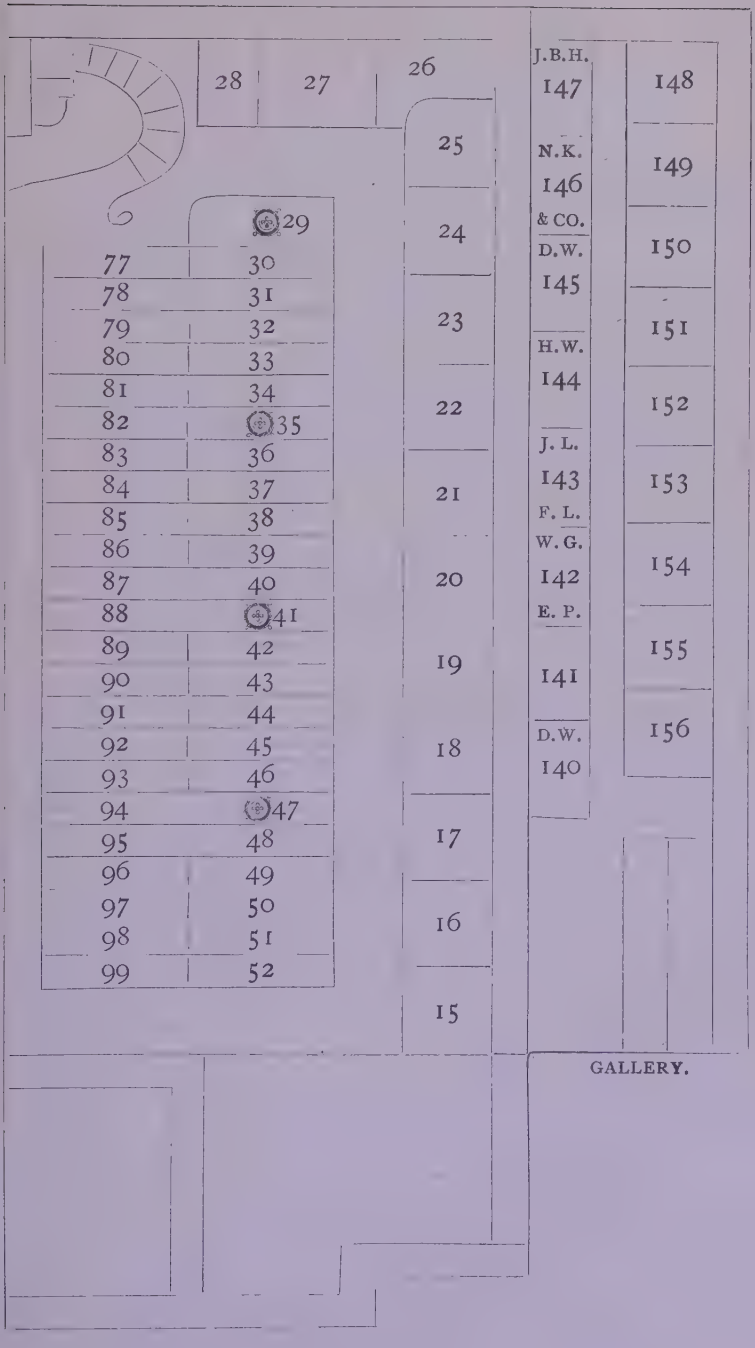
GALLERY.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96 49
97 50
98 51
99 52
J.B.H.
147
N.K.
146
& CO.
D.W.
145
H.W.
144
J. L.
143
F. L.
W. G.
142
E. P.
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D.W.
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GALLERY.

APPENDIX XIII.

(SEE PAGE 375.)

ARTICLES OF FAITH.

ARTICLE I.

We, as a Church, believe that Jehovah, the true and eternal God, who made, supports and governs the world, is perfect in natural and moral excellence, and that He exists in three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, who possess the same nature, and are equal in every divine perfection.

ARTICLE II.

We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were written by holy men, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and are the infallible rule of doctrine and duty.

ARTICLE III.

We believe that God has made all things for Himself; that known unto Him are all His works from the beginning, and that He governs all things according to the council of His own will.

ARTICLE IV.

We believe that men are immortal and accountable; that the law of God is perfect and his government just and good; and that all rational beings are bound to approve, love, and obey them.

ARTICLE V.

We believe that in consequence of the apostacy of Adam, sin and misery have been introduced into the world, and that all men, unless renewed by the Holy Spirit, are destitute of holiness, and under the curse of the divine law.

ARTICLE VI.

We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ assumed the nature of man, and by His mediation and death on the cross, made atonement for the sins of the world.

ARTICLE VII.

We believe that men *may* accept of the offers of salvation freely made to them in the Gospel; but that no one *will* do this, except he be drawn by the Father.

ARTICLE VIII.

We believe that those who are finally saved, will owe their salvation to the mere sovereign mercy of God, in Christ Jesus, through repentance and faith in Him, and not to any works of righteousness which they have done.

ARTICLE IX.

We believe that a conscientious discharge of the various duties which we owe to God, to our fellow-men, and to ourselves, as enjoined in the Gospel, is not only constantly binding on every Christian, but affords to himself and to the world, the only decisive evidence of his interest in the Redeemer.

ARTICLE X.

We believe that any number of Christians duly organized, constitute a church of Christ, the special ordinances of which are Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

ARTICLE XI.

We believe that all mankind must hereafter appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, to receive a just and final retribution, according to the deeds done in the body; and that the wicked will be sent away into everlasting punishment, and the righteous received into life eternal.

Such are the doctrines believed by this church. Do you cordially assent to them?

COVENANT.

In the presence of God and this assembly you do now seriously, deliberately, and for ever give up yourselves, in faith and love and holy obedience, to God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; accepting the Lord Jehovah to be your God; Jesus Christ to be your prophet, priest, and king; and the Holy Ghost to be your Sanctifier, Comforter, and Guide. Although humbly acknowledging your weakness and guilt, and your liability to error and sin, still you do sincerely desire, and by the aids of Divine grace do promise, to receive in love the pure doctrines of the Gospel, to walk in the statutes and ordinances of the Lord, blameless, and to do honor to your high and holy vocation by a life of piety towards God and benevolence towards your fellow-men.

You do also cordially join yourselves to this Church of Christ, engaging to submit to its discipline, so far as conformable to the rules of the

Gospel, and solemnly covenanting, as much as in you lies, to promote its peace, edification, and purity, and to walk with its members in Christian love, faithfulness, circumspection, sobriety, and meekness. This you promise and engage to do, with humble trust in the grace of God, and with an affecting belief that your vows are recorded on high, and will be reviewed in the day of final judgment.

Thus you promise and engage.

We then, as a church, do cordially receive you into our fellowship and communion, and give thanks to God who, we trust, has inclined your heart to fear his name. We promise to treat you with Christian affection; to watch over you with tenderness; and to offer our prayers to the great Head of the Church, that you may be enabled to fulfill the solemn Covenant which you have now made. The Lord bless you and keep you. The Lord make His face to shine upon you, and be gracious unto you. The Lord lift up His countenance upon you, and give you peace.

And now unto Him who is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the throne of His glory with exceeding joy,— to the only wise God our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and forever.

AMEN.

Article IV of the above Confession of Faith appears in the Manuals of 1822, 1835, 1843, and 1858; but disappears from the Manual of 1867 and all afterward.

The *Covenant* which appeared in the Manual of 1858 had large interpolations from a manuscript found among Dr. Hawes' effects, endorsed "Dr. E. D. Griffin's form of admission to the Presbyterian Church in Newark, New Jersey." These interpolations had been apparently to some extent sanctioned by the Church in 1857; but on January 17, 1860, the Church voted to recur to older form. The phraseology settled upon, however, as it appears in the Manuals of 1867 and afterward, is not exactly the language of 1822.

APPENDIX XIV.

(SEE PAGE 396.)

Subscribers to the altering and improving of the Meeting-house in the repairs of 1852.

Calvin Day,	$1,000	John L. Boswell,	$100
Thos. S. Williams,	500	B. & W. Hudson,	100
Thomas Smith,	500	B. W. Greene,	100
John Warburton,	500	H. Fitch,	100
Harvey Seymour,	500	E. Fessenden,	100
Julius Catlin,	500	John Beach,	100
Roland Mather,	500	Alfred Smith,	100
Charles Seymour,	400	Tertius Wadsworth,	100
Joseph Trumbull,	250	Wm. W. Ellsworth,	100
Edmund G. Howe,	250	R. C. Smith,	100
Hungerford & Cone,	250	H. L. Pratt,	100
Samuel S. Ward,	250	Ralph Gillett,	100
Henry A. Perkins,	250	French & Wales,	100
James M. Bunce,	250	S. Bourne,	100
David Watkinson,	250	Gurdon Fox,	100
S. P. Kendall & Co.,	200	Samuel Hamilton,	100
Erastus Smith,	200	L. Wilcox,	100
W. W. House,	200	Elizur Goodrich,	100
Francis Parsons,	200	Thomas Hender,	100
Noah Wheaton,	200	Wm. L. Wright,	75
Roswell Brown,	200	Nathan Colton,	50
Joseph Church,	200	H. L. Porter,	50
Goodwins & Sheldon,	200	George W. Corning,	50
Frederick Tyler,	200	George Rust,	50
Calvin Spencer,	150	Chauncey Ives,	50
Alfred Gill,	150	James B. Hosmer,	50
John G. Mix,	110	G. T. & H. J. Wright,	30
Robert Buell,	100	Henry Benton,	25
Selah Treat,	100	Sam'l Coit,	25
B. E. Hooker,	100	Wm. B. Ely,	25
Wm. H. Allyn,	100	James H. Holcomb,	25

J. S. Huntington,	$25	Walter Harris,	$20
T. Willis Pratt,	25	James Tisdale,	15
Collins Stone,	25	George M. Way,	15
Thacher, Goodrich & Stillman,	50	W. E. Sugden,	10
Rockwood & Prior,	25	C. W. Elton,	10
C. A. Goodrich,	25	C. C. Strong,	10
Nicholas Harris,	25		
J. Gorton Smith,	20	Total,	$10,455

APPENDIX XV.

(SEE PAGE 408.)

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR EXTINGUISHING THE DEBT OF THE SOCIETY IN 1879.

Calvin Day,	$2,000	George W. Corning,	$250
F. B. Cooley,	2,000	Edson Fessenden,	250
S. S. Ward,	2,000	John S. Welles,	200
Mrs. H. A. Perkins,	2,000	Charles Seymour,	250
Mrs. Emily Jewell, Mrs. Charles A. Jewell, Charles A. Jewell,	1,000	Harvey Seymour,	250
		Samuel Hamilton,	250
		Lewis E. Stanton,	200
Mrs. L. Church,	1,000	H. P. Stearns,	200
George P. Bissell,	1,000	Rowland Swift,	200
Mrs. E. G. Howe, Daniel R. Howe,	1,000	John Allen,	200
		Ralph Gillett,	200
Mrs. Lucius Barbour, Hattie D. Barbour, Lucius A. Barbour,	1,000	M. Storrs,	150
		George Leon Walker, returned by vote of the Society of Jan. 16, 1880,	125
Robert E. Day,	750		
Mrs. George Roberts, Henry Roberts, George Roberts,	800	A. P. Pitkin,	100
		Mrs. Edward H. Perkins,	100
		William W. House,	100
J. C. Parsons,	600	Charles T. Wells,	100
M. W. Graves, Admt.,	500	John Cooke,	100
E. K. Hunt, Admt.,	500	William M. Hudson,	100
W. R. Cone,	500	William Thompson,	20
Robert Buell,	500	M. B. Riddle,	25
B. E. Hooker,	500	H. S. Fuller,	25
J. Coolidge Hills,	500	J. H. Whitmore,	25
Mrs. George C. Perkins,	300	Mary Williams,	25
Leonard H. Bacon,	300	Hawley Kellogg,	25
H. Blanchard,	250	Mrs. Roswell Brown,	25
John C. Day,	250	Henry E. Taintor,	25

William E. Sugden,	$25	H. B. Langdon,	
A. C. Hotchkiss,	25	E. F. Harrison,	
J. L. Blanchard,	25	A. Catlin,	
N. H. Morgan,	25	C. T. Millard,	
James U. Taintor,	25	T. J. Gill,	
G. S. Whiting,	25	S. P. Davis,	
A. B. Gillett,	25	W. M. Storrs,	$117
S. M. Hotchkiss,	20	R. A. Griffing,	
L. M. Crittenden,	10	A. H. Pitkin,	
Mary and Sarah Bigelow,	10	A. B. Abernethy,	
J. W. Starkweather,	10	A. Brown, jr.,	
Charles T. Welles,	10	W. T. Price,	
C. W. Eldridge,	10	Benjamin G. Hopkins,	
Of the young men:		J. D. Parker,	
		Total,	$23,007

APPENDIX XVI.

(SEE PAGE 409.)

THE ORGAN.

The organ, description of which is given below, was built in 1883 by Hilborne L. Roosevelt, of New York. It is a particularly perfect and interesting instrument, not only on account of its size, but from the fact that it contains all of the most modern and improved devices which have characterized the advancement made of late years in organ building, some of which have never been employed before, and are original with the builder. The Choir Organ, together with the Reeds and Mixtures of the Great Organ, are enclosed in a Swell-box distinct and separate from that containing the Swell Organ pipes, thus affording most extraordinary crescendo and diminuendo effects.

The Windchests are those known as "Roosevelt chests" and may be briefly described as being tubular pneumatic in principle, and affording a separate pallet for every pipe. They admit of as perfect and rapid "repetition" as that of the most perfect piano forte, and are productive of an exceedingly light and agreeable touch, no matter how large the organ, and at the same time are subject to none of the derangements common to most organs.

The Blowing Apparatus, consisting of large independent feeders operated by a Hydraulic Engine, is placed in a room in the cellar which draws its supply of air from the Organ Gallery.

The Adjustable Combination Action is the most novel feature of the organ, and is original with the builder. It is controlled by thumb pistons placed beneath the keyboards; on any of which can be set or arranged such combinations of stops as the organist may desire; he being able to change them as completely and as often as may be required.

The Drawstop Action is exactly similar to that used for connecting the keys to the pallets of the windchest.

The 32′ Double Open Diapason, so rarely met with, and so seldom productive of satisfactory results, has here proved successful, and adds to the organ that majesty and grandeur which no substitute can do.

The Case of the old instrument has been retained, with but slight alterations and repairs.

The Keyboards are overhanging, and the Drawstops oblique faced.

The Action or Mechanism, together with the workmanship throughout the organ has been carried to a higher degree of perfection than usual, and the Voicing displays great delicacy and characteristic quality of tone, as well as immense power of "full organ" without harshness, and a perfect blending of the whole into an agreeable and massive tone, not lacking in brilliancy.

SPECIFICATION.

THREE MANUALS, Compass CC to a^3, 58 Notes; and PEDALS, Compass CCC to F, 30 Notes.

GREAT ORGAN.

1. Double Open Diapason,	16′	7. Flute Harmonique,	4′
2. Open Diapason,	8′	8. Octave Quint,	$2\frac{2}{3}$′
3. Gemshorn,	8′	9. Super Octave,	2′
4. Viola di Gamba,	8′	10. Mixture,	4 Ranks
5. Doppel Flöte,	8′	11. Trumpet,	8′
6. Octave,	4′		

(Stops 8 to 11 are included in the Choir swell-box.)

SWELL ORGAN.

12. Bourdon,	16′	20. Hohl Flöte,	4′
13. Open Diapason,	8′	21. Flageolet,	2′
14. Spitz Flöte,	8′	22. Cornet,	3, 4, and 5 Ranks
15. Salicional,	8′	23. Contra Fagotto,	16′
16. Dolce,	8′	24. Cornopean,	8′
17. Vox Celestis,	8′	25. Oboe,	8′
18. Stopped Diapason,	8′	26. Vox Humana,	8′
19. Octave,	4′	27. Clarion,	4′

CHOIR ORGAN.

(Enclosed in a separate Swell-box.)

28. Contra Gamba,	16′	33. Fugara,	4′
29. Open Diapason,	8′	34. Flute d' Amour,	4′
30. Æoline,	8′	35. Piccolo Harmonique,	2′
31. Concert Flute,	8′	36. Clarinet,	8′
32. Quintadena,	8′		

PEDAL ORGAN.

37. Double Open Diapason,	32′	41. Quint,	$10\frac{2}{3}$′
38. Open Diapason,	16′	42. Violoncello,	8′
39. Dulciana,	16′	43. Flute,	8′
40. Bourdon,	16′	44. Trombone,	16′

COUPLERS.

45. Swell to Great.
46. Choir to Great.
47. Swell to Choir.
48. Swell Octaves on Itself.
49. Swell to Pedal.
50. Great to Pedal.
51. Choir to Pedal.

MECHANICAL ACCESSORIES.

52. Swell Tremulant.
53. Choir Tremulant.
54. Eclipse Wind Indicator.

ROOSEVELT ADJUSTABLE COMBINATION PISTONS.

55–58. Four under Great keys affecting Great and Pedal stops Nos. 45, 46, and 50.
59–63. Five under Swell keys affecting Swell stops Nos. 48, 49, and 52.
64–66. Three under Choir keys affecting Choir stops and Nos. 47, 51, and 53.

PEDAL MOVEMENTS.

67–68. Two Roosevelt Adjustable Combination Pedals affecting Pedal stops.
69. Great to Pedal Reversible Coupler.
70. Pneumatic Starter for Water Engines.
71. Balanced Swell Pedal.
72. Balanced Choir Pedal.

SUMMARY.

Great Organ,	11 Stops,	812 Pipes.	
Swell Organ,	16 "	1,100 "	
Choir Organ,	9 "	522 "	
Pedal Organ,	8 "	240 "	
Total Speaking Stops,	44		
Couplers,	7		
Mechanical Accessories,	3		
Adjustable Combination Pistons,	12		
Pedal Movements,	6		
Total,	72	Total Pipes,	2,674

APPENDIX XVII.

(SEE PAGE 410.)

PROGRAMME OF CELEBRATION EXERCISES.

1633 1883

FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST

IN HARTFORD.

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH

ANNIVERSARY,

Thurſday and Friday, Oct. 11th and 12th.

1883.

"Then Samuel took a ſtone, and ſet it up between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Ebenezer, ſaying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us."—*Text of Thomas Hooker's Thankſgiving Sermon, Preached Oct.* 4, 1638.

ORDER OF EXERCISES.

Thurſday Morning.

I. ORGAN PRELUDE. *Handel.*

II. DOXOLOGY.

III. READING OF SCRIPTURE. Pſalm LXXXIX: 1–18.

IV. PRAYER.

V. ANTHEM. One Hundredth Pſalm. *Tours.*

VI. ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

WILLIAM R. CONE.

VII. PSALM CXXXVI. *Tate and Brady.*

Tune, LENOX.

To God the mighty Lord,
Your joyful Thanks repeat:
To Him due Praiſe afford,
As good as He is great.
For God does prove
Our conſtant Friend,
His boundleſs Love
Shall never end.

2. Thro' Deſarts vaſt and wild
He led the choſen Seed;
And famous Princes foil'd,
And made great Monarchs bleed.
For God, &c.

3. Sihon, whoſe potent Hand
Great Ammon's Sceptre ſway'd;
And Og, whoſe ſtern Command
Rich Baſhan's Land obey'd.
For God, &c.

4. And of His wond'rous Grace
Their Lands, whom He deſtroy'd,
He gave to Iſr'el's Race,
To be by them enjoy'd.
For God, &c.

5. He does the Food ſupply,
On which all Creatures live:
To God who reigns on high
Eternal Praiſes give.
For God will prove
Our conſtant Friend,
His boundleſs love
Shall never end.

VIII. EARLY TOPOGRAPHY OF HARTFORD.

JOHN C. PARSONS.

Illuſtrated by a copy of Porter's Map of Hartford in 1640, prepared by Solon P. Davis.

IX. HYMN 1060. "O God, beneath Thy guiding hand."

Tune, BOND.

Thurſday Afternoon.

I. PSALM LXXVIII. *Tate and Brady.*

Tune, ARCHDALE.

Hear, O my People, to my Law,
devout Attention lend;
Let the Inſtruction of my Mouth
deep in your Hearts deſcend.
My Tongue, by Inſpiration taught,
ſhall Parables unfold,
Dark Oracles, but underſtood,
and owned for Truths of old;

2. Which we from ſacred Regiſters
of antient Times have known,
And our Forefathers pious Care
to us has handed down.
We will not hide them from our Sons;
our Offſpring ſhall be taught
The Praiſes of the Lord, whoſe Strength
has Works of Wonder wrought.

3. That Generations yet to come
ſhould to their unborn Heirs
Religiouſly tranſmit the fame,
and they again to theirs.
To teach them that in God alone
their hope ſecurely ſtands,
That they ſhould ne'er His Works forget,
but keep His juſt Commands.

II. HISTORICAL ADDRESS.
REV. GEORGE LEON WALKER, D. D.

III. HYMN 820. "Let faints below in concert sing."
Tune, ST. ANNS.

IV. CLOSING VOLUNTARY. *Bach.*

Thurſday Evening.

I. ORGAN VOLUNTARY. *Mendelssohn.*
II. GLORIA IN EXCELSIS. *Pease.*
III. ADDRESSES BY FORMER PASTORS.
IV. MUSIC. "The Lord is mindful of His Own." *Mendelssohn.*
V. ADDRESSES BY INVITED GUESTS.
VI. HYMN 1014. "Chriſt is coming! Let creation"— *Verdussen.*

Friday Morning.

I. ORGAN PRELUDE AND CHORUS. *St. Saens.*
II. PRAYER.
III. THE MEETING-HOUSES OF THE FIRST CHURCH.
ROWLAND SWIFT.
IV. REMINISCENCES.
REV. AARON L. CHAPIN, D. D.
V. HYMN 757. "O where are kings and empires now."

Friday Noon.

SOCIAL REUNION AND COLLATION IN THE CHURCH PARLORS.

Friday Afternoon.

I. HYMN 522. "Call Jehovah thy ſalvation." *Raff.*
II. RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT.
PINCKNEY W. ELLSWORTH.
III. SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE IN EARLY TIMES.
MRS. LUCIUS CURTIS.
IV. HYMN 824. "Bleſt be the tie that binds."
Tune, DENNIS.

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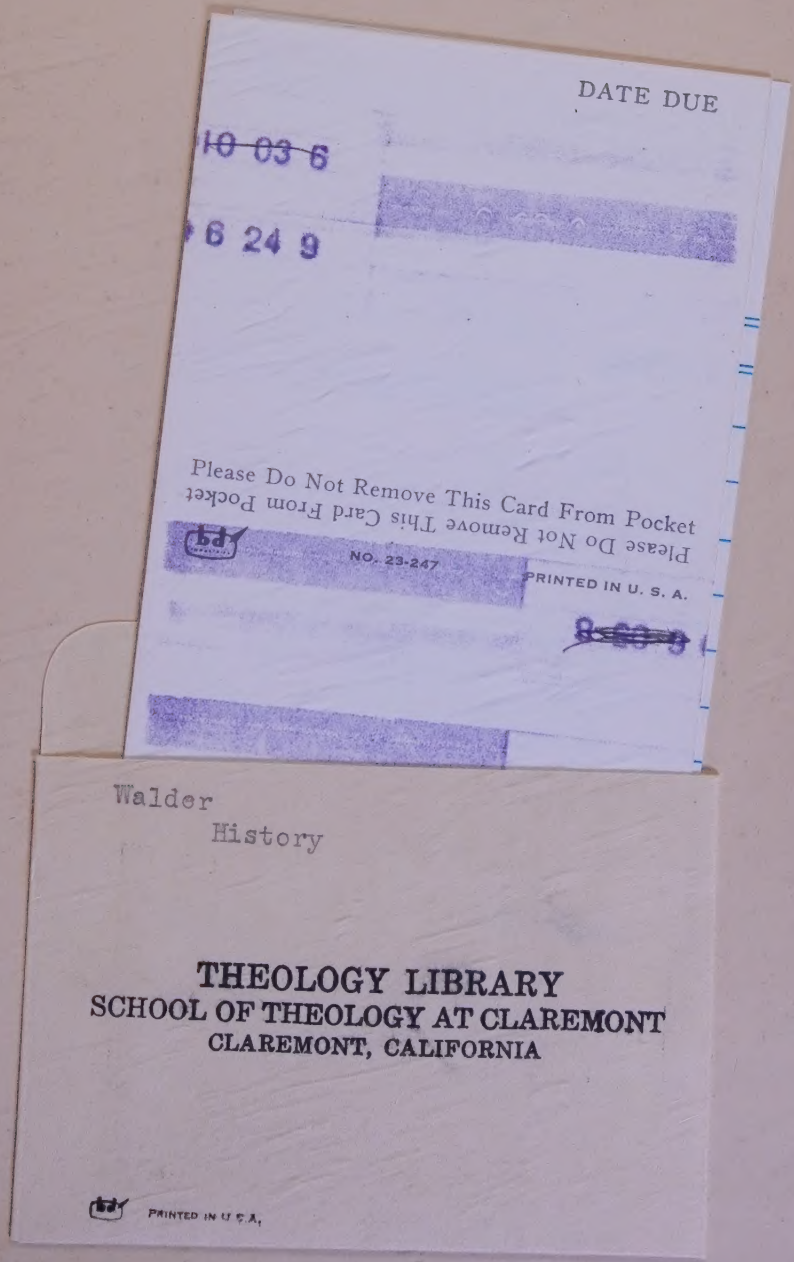

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